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AN ISTHMIAN CANAL, FROM A MILITARY
POINT OF VIEW.

Assuming that an Isthmian canal will be built by the United States, the question arises how can it be made to subserve the best interests of the government from a military point of view. Should it be free to the vessels of all nations on the same terms, in war as well as in peace, or should it be controlled by military power so that its use by our enemies in time of war could be prevented?

It is not proposed to discuss the cost of putting the canal under military control nor the ways and means of so doing. It will be assumed that it can be put under military control, or that it can be made free at the pleasure of the United States.

An Isthmian canal cannot be built within much less than ten years. What the relative naval strength of the various powers will be at the end of that period it is impossible to tell. Moreover, it is not easy to assign the proper place to some of the naval powers to-day. One nation may be strong in defensive but relatively weak in offensive power. The number, size and power of battleships and cruisers may not furnish the correct data for assignment of place. Naval

training and geographical positions are important considerations. The sub-marine boat is an unknown factor. But judging by the official lists, the principal naval powers have not greatly altered their relative positions in the last ten years. The United States and Japan have forged ahead; Spain and Italy have fallen behind. The eight strongest naval powers stand about as follows:

1. Great Britain,
2. France,
3. Russia,
4. United States,
5. Germany,
6. Italy,
7. Japan,
8. Spain.

Of these Great Britain and France are decidedly stronger than the United States. Russia, the United States and Germany are approximately equal; and all others decidedly inferior.

War may take place between the United States and any of the other named powers, or combinations of two or more, or it might be with one of those allied to some weak power not in that list. It is impossible to foretell all the combinations that might arise, but it is probable that, if an alliance of any two or more Powers should make war against the United States, we also would have allies; so that in dealing with the question we shall consider only the cases of war between the United States and a single Power.

Let us suppose a war exists between the United States and some nation of inferior naval power: What effect would the existence of the canal have on the operations of either belligerent? The nature of the operations both of the United States and of the enemy would depend largely on the geographical position of that enemy, the more or less maritime character of the people, and the value of her commerce and colonial possessions. Our policy would be to

attack her war vessels wherever they could be found, shut them up in harbors by blockade if they could not be reached, bombard naval stations, possibly invade her territory if the conditions favored and the probable results justified it.

Japan, a young and vigorous naval power, occupies a favorable geographical position to operate against us in the far east, and is fairly well provided with modern cruisers for attacking our commerce in the Pacific. An attack on the Philippines is within the limits of probability. If successful, Japan might even make a naval demonstration as far eastward as our Pacific coast, but it is difficult to understand how a condition of affairs could arise that would make it desirable for her to send a fleet through an American-Isthmian canal to the Atlantic side: such an event could only happen in case our navy in the Pacific were destroyed, and that on the Atlantic side perilously weak—a condition, which it is safe to assume, is not likely to arise in a war with Japan.

As for the European nations that are inferior to us in naval power, none are capable of conducting important naval operations against us on either the Atlantic or Pacific sides of the United States, and none are provided with naval bases of supply in such proximity as to cause us any alarm. Some of them might send out cruisers to prey on our commerce, but they would not be sent through an American Isthmian canal to do so.

Of the republics of South and Central America it may be said, first that they do not possess sufficient naval strength to give us any concern, and second that their interests are so closely interwoven with ours that war between any of them and the United States is scarcely probable. But if it should occur, none of them would send their war ships through an Isthmian canal. The greatest danger would be in the possibility of the canal being damaged by a few men, and this danger would be greater if the canal were fortified than if it were neutral.

It is safe, therefore, to conclude, that in a war between the United States and a nation of inferior naval power, the canal would be of no value to our enemy under any circumstances, while a neutral canal would be as serviceable to the United States as one thoroughly fortified.

The nations that are approximately equal to the United States in naval strength are Russia, Germany and Italy. Measured by tonnage the first of these has a navy about 25 per cent larger than that of the United States; measured by number of vessels, it is more than double that of the United States. But Russia is so situated geographically that operations against us could only be carried on at a disadvantage. She has a position at Vladivostock which is reported as being strongly fortified. It will soon have railroad connection with the capital of the empire and will become an important base in the East. It lies uncomfortably close to the Philippine Islands, which are far removed from the support of the United States. The harbor of Vladivostock, however, is impaired by climatic conditions. The cold is so intense that the harbor is closed by ice for several months in the year. To reach the Philippine Islands and our commerce in the Pacific, the Suez route for Russia is shorter, better and less liable to interruption than one via an American Isthmian canal.

The geographical position of Italy is not good for conducting hostile operations against the United States. Like Russia, she has neither coaling nor supply stations on this side of the Atlantic. In tonnage she is below, but in number of war vessels she is above, the United States. She has an immense fleet of torpedo boats, a comparatively small number of fast cruisers, and is far behind the United States in modern built ships. Some of her battleships a few years ago were regarded as the most formidable afloat, as they carried the largest guns in existence. But these ships are not well adapted to operating at a long distance from a base.

It is difficult to see how Italy could do us much harm on

the Atlantic side. A swift cruiser might capture some of our merchant vessels, but that Italy should contemplate sending a fleet through an American Isthmian canal to the Pacific is preposterous. Should she make a naval demonstration in those waters it should be in the extreme western part, most probably in the vicinity of the Philippine Islands, and for this purpose the Suez route is shorter, safer and in every way better. Italy is more of a commercial nation than Russia, but her commerce does not amount to much, consisting chiefly of fishing vessels that never go far away from home. She has no important colonies. Those in Eastern Africa are not of sufficient importance to warrant the cost of an expedition for their capture, and their loss to Italy would not have an important influence on the war.

Germany and the United States are more nearly on an equality in naval strength than any other two important naval powers. In tonnage they are nearly equal, in modern built ships the United States is ahead. Germany has, however, a great number of torpedo boats and many of her cruisers are what are known as unprotected. The naval program of Germany would make her the superior of France in fifteen years if the latter remain stationary. In other words, she would become in 1916 the second maritime power of the world, if her program be carried out and if the navies of other nations do not advance. Germany, however, has no colonies or supply stations on the Atlantic side of the United States in close proximity to our shores; her nearest colony is in Africa, too far removed to be of much use in a war with the United States even if it were otherwise advantageous.

On the Pacific side Germany has supply stations but they are few and far from the shores of the United States; but to attack us on that side Germany would not use an American Isthmian canal. The Suez route is better and less liable to be interrupted.

In the late war, Spain and the United States were generally

considered to be approximately equal in naval strength, yet an Isthmian canal, whether free or fortified, would not have rendered the results more decided nor have hastened the conclusion. Neither Dewey's victory at Manila nor Sampson's at Santiago could have been made more complete by the existence of a canal, nor could the operations of our armies have been facilitated. The *Oregon* might have reached the scene of operations sooner, but that would not have helped matters as the sequel proved. If the canal had been in existence and *partially* fortified, it would have been considered a vulnerable point of attack, particularly when Cervera's fleet was on the way across the ocean. A detachment of a part of our fleet to assist in the defence might have become necessary. In that case the blockade of Havana could not, in all probability, have been made effective.

In a war, then, between the United States and any nation of approximately equal naval strength, the canal would not be used by our enemy, while a neutral canal would be as useful to the United States as a fortified one.

There are only two nations whose naval strength is decidedly superior to that of the United States, these are France and Great Britain. The total naval tonnage of the former is nearly double that of ours, but much of it is in vessels of an old type. Fort de France, on the Island of Martinique, one of the Windward Islands on the east side of the Caribbean Sea, is a commodious, deep-water harbor. In old times it was a strongly fortified place and is susceptible now of being made impregnable against naval attack. It affords a fine rendezvous for a French fleet within striking distance of the canal.

If the canal were fortified France, under the laws of war, would have the right to capture, destroy or blockade it, if she could, but naval control of the Caribbean Sea would be necessary for its capture or blockade. Whether or not France would wish to do either, would depend on circumstances. If she did, a struggle would necessarily take place for naval

supremacy in the Caribbean Sea. But if the canal were neutral France, without a violation of the laws of war, could neither blockade, destroy nor capture it. She would therefore have less reason to strive for supremacy in the Caribbean, and the United States would get the full use of the canal without the necessity of fortifying it.

Would France wish to use the canal in case it were neutral and she became victorious in a combat on the Caribbean Sea? We think not, her victorious fleets would undoubtedly have a short route to the Pacific coast, but she would not be likely to send them through it. If an accident happened to the canal while she depended on it as a line of communication, her fleets would be placed in an awkward predicament. Moreover, there is better game on the eastern side more easily reached. On the other hand, if we became the victors in an engagement on the sea, the enemy's fleet would fall back on Martinique or re-cross the Atlantic; but it is not probable that a beaten French fleet would try to escape through an Isthmian canal westward, even if it were freely open. In operating against the Philippines France would use the Suez Canal.

Great Britain is by far the most formidable naval power in the world, whether measured by tonnage displacement, by number of ships, by weight of armor, or gun power. Her tonnage at the present time is nearly five times that of the United States, and more than double that of any two nations of the world combined. Her ships are of the latest types and the personnel of her fleet is in a high state of efficiency.

Great Britain is a commercial nation and dependent on the outside world for her subsistence. Her foremost object would be to keep open her avenues of trade, destroy everything that could threaten them, and render her adversary incapable of interfering with them. In a war with the United States, her first aggressive operations would doubtless be on the Atlantic side, for which Great Britain is well provided with good bases in close proximity to our shore.

Halifax is near our northern coast, Bermuda is distant only about eight hundred miles east from Charleston, while the Bahamas and Kingston are close to the southern coast. These stations form a cordon around our coast which would menace the operations of our navy, and from which Great Britain could operate against our coastwise commerce at her leisure.

If the canal were fortified a garrison would be stationed there. To keep open communications between it and the United States would become a matter of the most vital concern. To destroy those communications would therefore be an object of the highest importance to Great Britain. She could afford to weaken herself temporarily at other points in order to accomplish this, and we would be compelled to concentrate the bulk of our navy in the Caribbean Sea to maintain them. With five battleships to our one, and with Kingston, a deep, well-fortified and commodious harbor, as a base of operations, Great Britain would have every chance in her favor.

The Caribbean Sea would thus at first become the chief theatre of war on the Atlantic side, and the canal itself a military outpost, which could only be reinforced by troops conveyed to it by water. Now, a navy to be efficient, must have freedom of action. If it be fettered with the task of keeping open this line of communications in the face of a powerful foe, its efficiency would be lowered, if not destroyed.

We could not depend on maintaining communication on the west side with our Pacific seaports. This line is too long and too easily broken. That Great Britain might eventually capture the canal is not beyond the range of possibility. The fact that it would be a most valuable prize, and its loss to the United States so detrimental to our interests as well as our prestige, would induce Great Britain to exert her utmost powers. If by any unfortunate circumstance adequate defences or sufficient troops were not pro-

vided prior to the breaking out of war, the capture of the canal might become comparatively easy to a nation in control of the sea on each side.

An Isthmian canal to be of service to the United States presupposes that passage to it, through it and from it is assured. But passage to or from it in case of war with a strong naval power, could only be maintained by a strong naval force. If the canal bristled with guns from one end to the other it would be of no use to the United States, while a powerful hostile fleet dominated the Caribbean Sea. The nation that controls the adjoining seas will, in time of war, control passage through the canal, no matter which one has possession.

The canal will be located in a region that is practically uninhabited. A few resolute men could disable it with little danger to themselves. This danger of being temporarily disabled is a serious one even in a war with a weak naval power. The destruction of a lock or embankment, which could be accomplished with a few pounds of dynamite, would bring about a total suspension of navigation for an indefinite period.

Suppose France owned, controlled and managed the Suez Canal, what advantage would she derive from its being fortified in case of a war with Great Britain? Simply that of being able to deny its use to Great Britain, a negative benefit the value of which is more than doubtful. The canal would become a military outpost impossible to reinforce unless the British Mediterranean fleet could be destroyed or evaded. The concentration of British fleets might be somewhat delayed, but that is all. The mere ability to force delay would not be decisive. Great Britain in control of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, would control the approaches, and though she could not send her own fleets through it, she could effectually prevent France from reaching it. France would thus be placed in the position of holding a military station of no value to herself, that she could neither abandon

without loss of prestige, nor make her hold on secure by reinforcements.

The same would hold true with reference to an American Isthmian canal in a war between the United States and Great Britain. Perhaps Great Britain could not capture the canal. She might not wish to, but by blockading it she could destroy its usefulness to the United States.

From a military standpoint the canal is valuable only as a shortened line of communication. It has no other value. It does not serve as a good base of operations in a war with a strong naval power. It occupies no threatening position in a war with Great Britain. No prudent naval commander would hold a fleet in Lake Nicaragua or Lake Bohia to spring out on the foe in either ocean, as has sometimes been suggested. If our enemy be weak it would not be necessary, if strong, the danger of being bottled up is too great.

The canal is simply a link in the chain of communications. No chain is stronger than its weakest link. Forge it as you will, the weak link in a war with a stronger naval power than ourselves, is on either side. Munitions of war and troops would ordinarily be transported across the continent by rail, as that is a more expeditious route. As a line of communications it is badly located when considered in a war with a superior naval power. Instead of being in a protected position behind the main line of defense, it is out beyond the skirmish line.

An adequate defense of a fortified Isthmian canal can be made in no other way than by providing a navy of sufficient power to control the seas at either terminus. With such a navy at our command, the canal needs no fortifications. What number of battleships, cruisers, etc., would be necessary to accomplish this end, we do not feel competent to estimate; that is a question for naval experts to determine.

Suppose, on the other hand, the canal were neutral. It

would not then become a prize of war. Neither the maintenance of an army to protect it nor of a fleet to keep open communications with it, would be necessary. Great Britain might possibly send ships through it, but even that is doubtful. The most that could be gained by doing so is a saving of time. Under some circumstances this might be an important matter. But the naval preponderance of Great Britain is such that time would be of less importance to her than to us. It is scarcely probable that it would ever be so important to her as to justify her in taking the risks of sending a fleet through a canal under American control.

The canal is of more value to the United States than to any other nation. To keep it and the approaches open at all times would therefore be the aim of our government. But no amount of fortifications along the line of the canal will afford safe passage to a ship across the Caribbean Sea.

It is believed, in consideration of the freedom of the canal extended by the United States to the ships of all nations, that those nations would agree to an arrangement by which the region of the canal and large areas of the sea at each terminus should be exempted from the operations of war. The larger these areas of neutrality the better. But in view of the benefits to mankind which the United States would confer by the construction of the canal, there ought to be no serious difficulty in securing areas of the sea bounded by arcs of circles described with radii of, say, 100 miles or more. Should such an agreement be violated by any nation that is a party to it, the United States could destroy the canal, if necessary, so as to render it impossible of being used against us. As no nation except Great Britain would wish to use the canal for any other than peaceful purposes of commerce, and as she probably would have no strong reason for using it in any other way, it is not seen why such an agreement might not be made. How such a status of the canal and adjacent waters can be effected are matters for

statecraft to settle. The object of the foregoing remarks is to endeavor to show that a neutral canal with a large area of neutral waters at each terminus, is, in the existing status of the naval powers of the world, a more useful canal to the United States, from a military standpoint, than one that is controlled by military power.

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THE NEUTRALIZATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL.

The Turkish Sultan, Mustapha III., is reported to have once remarked: "If a happy circumstance can dictate alterations in immutable laws, the canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean will one day become the basis of a new rule of international law." Mustapha's words were truly prophetic, for, to the student of international law and its history, the case of the Suez Canal presents an interesting and important example of the adaptation of the rules of international jurisprudence to altered conditions and changed circumstances. For, up to the third quarter of the last century, jurists were almost entirely silent regarding the legal status of artificial canals connecting two seas and utilized by the public and private vessels of several states. They have discussed alone the legal necessities of existing conditions, and consequently have had no occasion to deal with cases which, under then-existing conditions, could not arise. The Suez Canal was, at the time of its construction, a work so unique that it would be idle to consult the file of precedence in the hope of finding precept or rule such as would throw any light upon its legal position. But no small portion of the present body of international law has had its origin in the continual extension of simple principles to complex cases and in the detection of analogies between new and old sets of facts. The great but simple rules of Hugo Grotius respecting the freedom of the high seas have, in later centuries, received applications of which their author could have had no conception. The Congress of Vienna, for example, applied the principle to the chief rivers of North-eastern Europe, declaring that the Rhine, Meuse, Scheldt, Moselle and Elbe should be free to the vessels of all nations from the point at which they became navigable down to the sea, thus putting an end to the mass of vexatious regula-

tions and tolls which had hitherto rendered them practically useless as highways of trade. Similarly the principle of the immunity of non-combatant territory and of non-combatant persons has been extended to render immune certain works of international importance such as the artificial entrances at the mouths of the Danube, while the Geneva Convention applied the principle of immunity to surgeons, nurses and others whose intimate connection with combatants had hitherto deprived them of a neutral character. Political necessities, too, had at various times secured the perpetual immunity of whole states such as Luxemburg, Belgium and Switzerland.

The step from an international agreement for the immunity from hostile attack of territories, works and persons, to an agreement for the guarantee of like immunity to an inter-oceanic waterway of the greatest political and commercial importance to many states, was not a long one, and the Suez Canal had not been many years in operation when a movement with this end in view began. But movements of this kind—owing to the number and variety of the interests concerned—progress very slowly, and it was not until nearly two decades had passed that international agreement finally secured for the great waterway a full guarantee of immunity from belligerent operations under all circumstances whatsoever. And in view of the frequency with which, during the recent discussions upon the Hay-Pauncefote negotiations, the action of the Powers in regard to the Suez Canal has been seized upon and advanced as a precedent, it may be well to examine the history both of the canal construction and of the subsequent international negotiations, with a view to discovering whether or not all the essentials of a valid precedent are present.

The importance, commercially and strategically, of a navigable waterway across the Isthmus of Suez had long been recognized. As early as 1798 Bonaparte had caused the route to be surveyed, but his engineers reported the scheme

impracticable, giving as their reason that the Red Sea level was some thirty feet above that of the Mediterranean, and the project was consequently dropped. But about half a century later, a new survey served to show the complete inaccuracy of its predecessor, and a project for the construction of a canal was once more put forward. There was, moreover, another circumstance which rendered the prospects for the successful construction of such a work much more favorable than heretofore—the increased strength and stability of the Egyptian government. From the beginning of the century the political affairs of Egypt had never been satisfactory. On the departure of the French forces, Mehemet Ali had seized the reins of government and had in time been able to wring from the Sultan a more or less indefinite recognition of the authority which he had established in the country. Proving a successful ruler, Mehemet kept up a considerable military establishment, by means of which he was able to make important extensions of his territory. The Sultan, embarrassed with the Greek revolt, was unable to prevent these extensions until after the definite cession of Grecian independence, when an endeavor to curtail the powers of the Egyptian Pascha led to an open rupture. The Porte had, however, underestimated Mehemet's military resources, and the complete assertion of Egyptian independence was in 1832 only prevented by the intervention of Europe. But the Pascha, conscious of Turkish weakness, continued his aggressions till 1840, when he was definitely warned that the Powers would, under no conditions, allow the existence of a new independent Arab empire in the Levant. In that year, Lord Palmerston instructed the British agent at Cairo to warn Mehemet Ali that Great Britain would aid the Sultan in preventing any further extension of the Paschalic powers, and that orders had been given to the British fleet in this regard.¹ In this move

¹ Correspondence relating to the affairs of the Levant. Parliamentary Papers (1841), Part I, p. 502; Part II, pp. 5, 181.

Great Britain seems to have merely acted as spokesman for the other Powers, since the principles of international policy embodied in Lord Palmerston's despatch were fully carried into execution by the convention of London in 1840, whereby Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia agreed to protect the Porte, by coercive measures if necessary, against aggression on the part of the Egyptian government. Accordingly Mehemet threw overboard his greater ambitions, and in 1841 received from the Sultan a firman which laid down specifically the limits of his territories and powers. This firman, which, though several times since amended, is still the legal basis of the khedival power in Egypt, was likewise submitted to the Powers and approved by them, it being at the same time understood that amending firmans should receive the same approval before going into effect. Some years later Lord Clarendon informed the British agent at Cairo "that the great Powers would not allow the Porte to abrogate or diminish the authority of the Khedive without their consent, while, likewise, they would prevent any attempt on the part of the Khedive to extend his authority without Turkish permission."

Thus, it was not till 1840 that the legal status of Egypt had become definitely fixed under the guarantee of the Powers; hence it was only then that the obtaining of a reliable charter to execute a great public work such as that of a canal across the Isthmus of Suez, became for the first time possible. During the course of the forties elaborate surveys were made, and in the early fifties definite proposals for the construction of the canal began to be put forward. Negotiations with the Khedive were undertaken by the French engineer, M. de Lesseps, and on January 5, 1856, these were concluded through the issue of a ^{royal decree} firman, by the terms of which de Lesseps was given power to form a company, to be called "*La Compagnie Universelle du Canal de Suez*," and to proceed with the work. The influence of Great Britain had, throughout the course of the negotiations, been

thrown against the proposals, as Lord Palmerston deemed that the construction of the canal would be very detrimental to British political and commercial interests. That it did not ultimately prove so was due no more to British commercial enterprise than to the lack of this quality among the people of certain continental countries, who otherwise might have turned the new route to their own advantage.

By the terms of the charter of 1856 the company was given certain territorial concessions for a period of ninety-nine years; was guaranteed the free use of a large amount of forced labor on the part of the fellaheen; and was given certain rights in regard to the construction of subsidiary fresh-water canals and works. In return the company was under obligation to execute the whole project at its own expense, the Egyptian government to be given, when the canal was in full operation, 15 per cent of the net annual earnings; the original shareholders 75 per cent and the promoters the remaining 10 per cent. On the expiration of the period for which the charter was granted, the canal with all its appurtenances was to become the property of the Egyptian government. And by Article 14 of the charter the right of free navigation under equal conditions was guaranteed to the ships of all nations.¹ It was this article which, some years later, was utilized by de Lesseps in an endeavor to prove that the canal had been "neutralized" by the terms of the company's charter. The terms of the charter were deemed satisfactory and the work of construction commenced. But at this point the Sultan stepped in and declared that those clauses in the charter which had made concessions of territory and which had placed the forced labor of the fellaheen at the company's disposal were *ultra*

¹ We solemnly declare, for ourselves and our successors, that the Grand Maritime Canal from Suez to Pelusium, and its dependent ports, shall be open forever, as *neutral passages* to all ships of commerce passing from one sea to the other, without any distinction, exclusion or preference of persons or nationalities, on payment of the dues and compliance with the regulations established by the Concessionary Universal Company for the use of the said canal and its dependencies.

vires of the Khedive. This turn in affairs caused a suspension of operations, the company making claim against the Egyptian government for damages consequent upon a breach of contract. However, the matter was submitted by both parties to Napoleon III., with the result that the Khedive was adjudged liable to pay the sum of £3,360,000 indemnity. The original capital of the company had been fixed at £8,000,000, of which sum the Khedive had himself subscribed about three-and-a-half millions, the balance being taken up by the various European financial houses in £20 shares. But by the time the canal was formally opened in 1869, successive issues had brought the total capital up to more than £17,000,000.

The opening of what M. Gambetta called "the carotid artery" between East and West was an event of great international importance, more especially to such of the European Powers as had territorial and commercial interests in Asia. Prominent among such was Great Britain, the government of which was not slow in realizing that the control of the canal by any other Power would constitute a grave menace to India. During the course of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 no attempt was made by either Power to engage in belligerent operations within the limits of its waterway or ports, but the danger of such was, nevertheless, made apparent, and in 1873 an International Commission summoned at Constantinople on the invitation of the Sultan, agreed upon the general principle "that the navigation of the canal should *at all times* be equally enjoyed by the vessels of all nations." This declaration (6-14 December, 1873) was accepted by the Porte, by the president of the canal company and by the Powers, but it in no wise specifically prohibited belligerent acts within the waters of the canal and its approaches; nor did it serve to secure the waterway against a blockade in case the territorial power should become a belligerent. The inadequacy of the declaration was furthermore demonstrated in 1875, when complications

arose leading to a threat on the part of the company—which was entirely under French control—of closing the canal temporarily to *all* vessels; a threat which would probably have been carried into effect but for the prompt action of the Egyptian authorities. In view of this situation, the policy of the British government directed itself towards the obtaining of a controlling interest in the company through the purchase of shares, and on November 25, 1875, Disraeli played what proved to be a masterstroke in this direction by buying out, for the sum of £4,000,000, the shares held by the Khedive. This action on the part of the English minister was soundly criticised at home and roundly ridiculed abroad, but both politically and financially the investment proved a wise one, for the purchase made Great Britain the largest individual shareholder in the company, thus giving that Power an undeniable right to a voice in the general management of the canal, while at the same time the shares have greatly risen in marketable value.

Not long after this time the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 began, and there appeared a grave danger that the Mediterranean entrance to the canal would be blockaded by the Russian fleet. Anticipating such an eventuality, the British authorities informed the governments of Russia, Turkey and Egypt "that any attempt to blockade, or to otherwise interfere with the canal or its approaches, would be regarded by Her Majesty as a menace to India and as a grave injury to the commerce of the world." Further, the British note declared "that Her Majesty's government are firmly determined not to permit the canal to be made the scene of any combat or other warlike operations."¹ In reply Prince Gortchakoff declared "that Russia did not propose to blockade, interrupt or menace the canal in any way," but that, on the contrary, the Russian government considered the canal to be "an international work of such importance

¹ Derby to Lyons (Parliamentary Papers, June 5, 1877). *The Times*, June 6, 1877.

to the commerce of the world that it should remain untouched."

It was this danger and the attitude of Great Britain in regard thereto which led de Lesseps, as president of the canal company, to seize the moment as an opportune one for laying before the British ministry a project for the permanent protection of the freedom of the canal by an international agreement. He accordingly proposed to Lord Derby that the government of Great Britain should invite the chief Powers of Europe to give assent to the following declaration:

International Agreements as to the Passage of Ships of War through the Suez Canal.

"Since the opening of the Suez Canal, in 1869, the complete liberty of passage through the Maritime Canal and the ports connected with it has been respected for state vessels as well as for merchant ships, even on the part of belligerent Powers at the time of the Franco-Prussian war.

"The governments of . . . now agree to maintain the same liberty to all national and commercial vessels, whatever may be their flag, and without any exception: it being understood that national ships will be subject to the measures which the territorial authority may take to prevent ships in transit from embarking on Egyptian territory any troops or munitions of war."

The British Ministry did not, however, receive this proposal favorably, for after due consideration, reply was made to de Lesseps "that the scheme proposed for the neutralization of the canal by an international convention was open to so many objections of a political and practical character that they could not undertake to recommend it for the support of the Porte and the Powers." Lord Derby, some little time later, proposed to the French government that the public vessels of France and Great Britain should jointly patrol the canal and its approaches during the course of hostilities;

and this plan not commending itself to the authorities of the former Power, the Italian foreign office made suggestion of a temporary patrol by a fleet composed of vessels detached for this purpose by all the Powers.

As a matter of fact, the canal was not blockaded during the course of the Russo-Turkish war, but it would be difficult to deny that if Russia—against whom the Khedive had furnished a quota of troops to the Ottoman army—had deemed fit to adopt this method of inflicting an injury upon a belligerent, she would have been quite within her rights at international law in so doing.¹ The position assumed by Great Britain rested—as Sir Robert Phillimore has shown—upon no other basis than that of political and commercial self-interest, together with her ability as the predominant naval power, to make her dicta in the matter respected. It is true that the charter of concession to the canal company (January 5, 1856) had guaranteed the *neutral passage* of the canal to all ships of commerce without distinction of flag. But that the Egyptian government had not, even as between the company and itself, contemplated the immunity of the canal from hostile operations may be seen by reference to another article in the charter (Art. 10), wherein it was provided that the military authorities of Egypt should have at all times the right to occupy strategic positions on the canal banks. Furthermore, no government could—even if it so desired—have divested itself of any of the responsibilities of belligerency through a private contract with a chartered company. The Declaration of Constantinople (December 14, 1873) likewise provided for the *equal*, not for the *free*, use of the canal by the ships of all nations, and the existence of a blockade, shutting out all vessels alike, would have been in no sense a violation of the principle of equality which the Declaration enjoined. This latter had not prevented the canal company from preparing to make good its threat to close the waterway in 1875.

¹ Phillimore, "Principles of International Law," Vol. I, p. 155.

But the dangers of 1877 showed clearly enough the advisability of some concerted action in the direction of neutralization, although as to how such should be effected was by no means so clear. So important did the latter question appear to the jurists of Europe that the *Institut du droit Internationale*, at its annual meeting in Zürich, at once appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Travers Twiss, to consider the best possible method of securing the immunity of the canal from hostile operations. At the annual meeting of the *Institut*, held in Paris during the course of the following year, this committee reported, but so much discussion arose over the exact import of the word "neutralization" that the Institute contented itself with expressing in general terms its opinion "that it is in the interest of all nations that the Suez Canal be declared, by an international act, free of any hostile attempt during war," reserving the details for future consideration. In 1879 a further report was submitted by the committee, in which four main principles were advanced:

1. That the Powers are agreed that complete freedom of passage through the canal should be always respected by belligerents in the case of ships of war, as well as private vessels.
2. That no troops or munitions of war should be landed along the canal without the consent of the territorial Power.
3. That should the territorial Power be at war, a reasonable time should be allowed to the trading vessels of the enemy to leave the canal.
4. That the *neutrality* of the canal ought to be respected, even when the territorial Power is belligerent.

No opposition was advanced by the members to the first three of the foregoing propositions, but much discussion arose as to what the term "neutrality" as employed in the final proposition, could be held to imply. M. de Martens, of St. Petersburg, advocated the "neutrality" of the waterway in the sense that it should, in time of war, be declared

entirely inaccessible to the warships of belligerents. Sir Travers Twiss pointed out that Great Britain would never be a party to any agreement such as would in time of war, cut off her marine connection with India. Professor Neumann suggested the possibility of creating a "Marine Belgium," but finally the Institute placed its views on record by voting three declarations:

1. That it is to the general interest of all nations that the maintenance of the Suez Canal and its use for communications of every kind shall be, as far as possible, protected by treaty.

2. With this object in view it is desirable that states should come to an arrangement with a view to avoiding, as far as possible, every act whereby the canal and its dependencies might be damaged in time of war.

3. If any Power should damage the works of the canal, it shall be bound to repair, as speedily as possible, the damage, and to re-establish full liberty of navigation.

These declarations were far from satisfying the more ardent advocates of a stringent international control, such as were Professors Martens and Bluntschli; their adoption was only secured through the influence of Mr. Holland. But the proceedings of the Institute—cited here in the absence of any diplomatic discussions on the matter—disclose that, despite the interplay of varied motions and interests, representative jurists of all nationalities were convinced of the desirability of rendering the canal inviolate in time of war through the medium of an international agreement. For, as motives in this direction, the political interests of several states were supplemented by the desire of shareholders in the canal company to obtain the greatest possible revenue in tolls and the wish of shipowners and forwarders of all countries for the securing of an unimpeded transit.

The idea of neutrality was, moreover, not a new one, although there had, as yet, been no instance of the successful application of the principle to the case of an arti-

ficial canal. Not only had territories such as those of Switzerland, Savoy, Belgium and Luxemburg been rendered immune from hostile operations, but the principle of neutrality had been extended to waters in case of the Black Sea—declared neutral by the Treaty of Paris in 1856.¹ The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 had in one of its clauses contained the guarantee of the signatory Powers that the canal to be constructed across the Central American isthmus should be "forever open and free," while a treaty between the United States and New Granada (now Colombia) in 1846—renewed in 1870—had guaranteed the neutrality of the whole Isthmus of Panama.

But while the savants of the Institute were discussing the possibilities of a successful application of the principle of complete neutrality to the Asiatic gateway, the finances of Egypt reached the state which necessitated the joint intervention of Great Britain and France, the governments of which countries assumed control of the Pasha's financial affairs in the interest of European bondholders. A couple of years later came Arabi's revolt, upon which France, after vacillating in its attitude, threw the whole burden of Egyptian affairs upon British shoulders, with the result that the eventual British occupation of Egypt gave a new aspect to the whole question of canal neutralization, for the government of Great Britain now claimed a dominant voice as representing not alone the largest financial and commercial interest² in the canal, but as representing the territorial power as well. The canal company was, however, still completely under French influence and, during the early eighties English shipping interests had complained loudly of discrimination in favor of French commerce alleged to have been made by the canal officials. But

¹ "The Black Sea is neutralized. Its waters and ports, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, are, formally and in perpetuity, interdicted to the flag of war of either of the Powers possessing its coasts or any other Power."—*Treaty of Paris, Art. XI.*

² In 1883 Great Britain owned nearly half the shares in the canal, while four-fifths of the traffic which passed through was British owned.—Dicey "Nineteenth Century" (August, 1883), pp. 189-205.

now that British influence in Egypt had become predominant, proposals began to be made looking toward the construction of a second canal which should be entirely under British control. In 1882, a proposal in this direction was actually laid before Parliament by the ministry of the day, but that body refused its ratification and the project of a second canal was allowed to drop. But the failure of this new project to receive Parliamentary concurrence served only to strengthen the attitude of the British Ministry with regard to the freedom of the existing channel—an attitude which, first declared in 1877, had been reiterated by Mr. Gladstone in a speech at the Mansion House in 1882, on which occasion he declared that "Egypt having become the great gate between East and West, it is essential for the industry and enterprise of mankind that the gate should be open." The events of 1882 had, however, even more than the events of 1877, shown the difficulty and the not improbable impossibility in certain eventualities of fully enforcing this canon of British policy for, during the course of the revolt, the temporary success of Arabi's forces, aided by the all but active sympathy of the canal officials, had almost succeeded in effecting the closure of the waterway to English commerce. The British Ministry concluded, therefore, that the difficulty would be removed by the permanent neutralization of the canal, under an international guarantee and, accordingly, on January 3, 1883, Lord Granville addressed a note to the Courts of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome and St. Petersburg, looking toward the consummation of an agreement with this end in view. The direct causes of this proposal were given by Lord Granville under three heads: (1) the danger to which the canal had been exposed during the brief period of the success of the recent insurrection. (2) The altered circumstances resulting from the British occupation of Egypt in aid of the Khedive; and (3) the attitude assumed by the directors and officials of the canal company at a critical period in the course of the campaign.

The note contained a proposal embodied in eight clauses, suggesting, in general, that the canal should be free for the passage of *all ships in any circumstances*; that no hostilities should take place in the canal or in its approaches, even in the event of Turkey being one of the belligerents; that no troops or munitions of war should be disembarked on its banks nor fortifications erected thereon or in the vicinity; and that each government should be made liable for any damage done the canal by one of its public vessels. Finally, Lord Granville suggested the convening of an international congress to discuss the proposals advanced.

The British occupation of Egypt had, however, in the opinion of some of the continental powers put a new face on the whole question. France and Russia now conceived that their interests would be better served by the permanent neutralization, not of the canal alone, but of Egypt itself. In other words, the Suez question had become overshadowed by the Egyptian question. Thus the eminent Russian Jurist Professor Martens, in an article contributed to the "*Revue du droit Internationale*" about this time declared:

"The danger which menaces the canal in time of war, will be very sensibly diminished, if the permanent *neutralization of Egypt* is made an accomplished fact and if such is guaranteed by all the great European powers. In this case, the Egyptian government, established on a solid basis, can make its first object the guaranteeing of the security of the canal, and all the Powers guaranteeing will be obliged to defend Egypt against an attack, whether directed against the canal, or its inviolate territory."¹

But an international congress for the discussion of the whole Egyptian question was not what the British government desired and for two years the adhesion of the Powers to Lord Granville's proposal of 1883 was not secured. In 1885, however, a convention of the Powers met in London to discuss certain matters relating to Egyptian finances and this

¹ "*La Question Egyptienne et le droit internationale*," Vol. xiv, pp. 355-402.

occasion the British foreign office seized to reiterate its proposals with regard to the security of the canal. And under instructions from their respective governments the delegates to the financial convention agreed that a further congress should be forthwith assembled at Paris to attempt "the establishment of a definite understanding, designed to guarantee, in all times and by all the Powers, the free usage of the Suez Canal." This congress was duly convened at Paris on March 30, 1885, the states represented being Germany, Austro-Hungary, Spain, France, Great Britain, Holland, Russia, Turkey and Egypt.¹

At the outset the representatives of France and of Great Britain submitted projects which differed principally, not in regard to the nature of the neutralization, but in regard to the means whereby the maintenance of strict neutrality should be assured. The British representatives proposed to leave the enforcement of neutrality in the hands of the Khedive—this ruler being at the time under British control—while the French delegates desired rather the formation of a permanent international commission composed of representatives of the great Powers, together with a delegate from Turkey and one from Egypt, which should be charged with the duty of seeing that no infringement of the international agreement occurred. On the main question of the advisability of an international guarantee of neutrality there was complete unanimity, and the diverse interests of France and Great Britain were finally reconciled, as regards the mode of supervision, by the adoption of a compromise wherein provision was made that the execution of the agreement should rest, in the first place, with the Khedive, and, failing him, with the Porte; the Powers being duly advised and consulted by the latter. Accordingly, articles of agreement, to the number of seventeen in all, were drawn up and agreed

¹ Egypt was represented by Fakry Pascha, who had a consultative voice only in the proceedings. The British delegates to this congress were Sir Julian (now Lord) Pauncefoot and Sir Charles Rivers-Wilson, the present president of the Grand Trunk Railway.

upon, by which the high contracting parties covenanted that the Suez Canal should be for all time "free and open, as well in time of war as in time of peace, to all ships both of commerce and of war, without distinction of flag," and bound themselves not to make any attack upon the channel nor "to exercise the right of blockade." The same immunity was to apply to the subsidiary fresh-water canal, and to the materials, works and appurtenances belonging to the company. The Maritime Canal was to rest, even in time of war, open to the war vessels of belligerents, but "no right of war, nor any act having for its result the obstruction of the freedom of navigation should be exercised within the canal nor in its ports of access, nor within a radius of three marine miles of its ports," even although the Ottoman Porte should be one of the belligerents. Moreover, the war vessels of belligerents "shall not, in the canal, nor in its ports of access, revictual or provision, except within the limits of strict necessity," and "the transit of such vessels shall be effected with the least possible delay." Further, it is provided in the Articles that the sojourn of belligerent warships at Port Said and in the roadstead of Suez "shall not be longer than twenty-four hours, save in the case of a forced putting into port." And where vessels of both belligerents happen to be contemporaneously in port, it is provided that an interval of at least twenty-four hours shall elapse between the time of their respective departures. Belligerents are bound not to disembark nor to take on, within the canal or its ports, "any troops, munitions or materials of war," but "in the case of an accidental obstruction of the channel, they may disembark or embark, in the ports of access, troops in bodies not exceeding one thousand men with stores and munitions in proportion." Prizes, *en route*, are, by the terms of the agreement, to be reckoned as vessels of war, and no signatory Power is to permanently maintain within the canal waters, any armed vessel. Nevertheless, in the ports of Port Said and Suez a permanent station of not more than two vessels

may be maintained by any Power so desiring, always provided that the Power so doing be not at the time a belligerent. The foregoing were the chief declaratory provisions; then follow provisions designed to ensure their execution.

In the first instance, the diplomatic agents in Egypt of the signatory Powers are charged with the duty of taking cognizance of any menace to the free passage of the canal or any threatened violation of the provisions agreed upon. They are to meet on the request of any three of their number—under the presidency of their dean—and to inform the Egyptian government of any apprehended or actual danger. In any case—whether danger appears or not—the agents are to meet annually under the presidency of a specially-appointed commissioner of the Ottoman Porte, or of their own accord, in the absence of this official, and to satisfy themselves that the provisions of the agreement have been observed.

The Egyptian government, on the receipt of information from the agents at Cairo of the signatory Powers, "shall take, within the limits of his powers . . . such measures as are necessary to secure the observance of the agreement." But in case the Egyptian government shall not have at its disposal sufficient means of doing this, it shall make appeal to the government of the Ottoman Empire, upon which shall then devolve the duty of taking such measures as are necessary to secure the observance of the international agreement respecting the canal; at the same time giving advice to the governments of the six great European Powers and, if need be, consulting with them on the matter.

It was provided, moreover, that the provisions of the agreement should not operate to prevent Turkey—or the Khedive acting in virtue of his authority conferred by firman—from taking such measures as might become necessary for the defence of their respective territories, provided always, that no hindrance to navigation ensued and that due notice of such necessity be given to the governments of the

six chief Powers by the Ottoman authorities. But this exception was not to be construed as permitting either the Turkish or Egyptian government to erect any fortifications within the neutralized area.

Finally the high contracting parties agreed, "by the application of the principle of equality in all that concerns the free usage of the canal—a principle which forms one of the bases of the agreement—that none among themselves should have any territorial or commercial advantages or privileges in the international arrangements made in regard to the canal." They likewise agreed to bring the agreement to the notice of such states as had not been represented in the congress and to invite their adhesion. Ratifications were to be exchanged at Constantinople "within the space of one month or as soon thereafter as possible," but it was not, however, until October 29, 1888, that these were formally given. The assent given by England was a qualified one, for it stipulated that the terms of the agreement should be held to bind Great Britain only when a settlement of the internal affairs of Egypt should have enabled her to withdraw her troops from that country. As it was generally understood by the Powers that the British occupation would be a matter of short duration, no objection seems to have been raised to this proviso in the assent given by the British representative at the time ratifications were exchanged. But the long-looked-for British evacuation of Egypt has not yet come, and it was upon this qualification that Mr. George (now Lord) Curzon, when Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated in the House of Commons a few years ago that Great Britain did not yet look upon the provisions of the international agreement as binding her own actions with regard to the Suez Canal.¹

¹ On July 1, 1898, Mr. Davitt inquired in the House of Commons as to the breach of Article 4 of the Suez Canal Convention by Spanish ships of war remaining at Port Said beyond the twenty-four hours therein stipulated, to which Mr. Curzon replied: "The provisions of the Suez Canal Convention to which the honorable

Such, then, is the history of those rather extended steps through which the canal neutralization was eventually concluded. The significance of the matter as a precedent for the neutralization of similar future works was, indeed, great, but it was greatly lessened by the presence of several important attendant circumstances peculiar to the case, and care must, therefore, be had that the precedent be not given a too unqualified application. During the course of the negotiations between the United States of America and Great Britain in regard to the adoption of an understanding with reference to the proposed Nicaraguan Canal and during the course of the discussions upon the so-termed "Hay-Pauncefote Treaty," constant reference has been made to the Suez neutralization agreement as a pertinent precedent. But it is not so certain that the analogy holds good in every way. In the first place, it may be noted that in the case of the Suez Canal, negotiation for neutralization began after the work had been completed and after many nations had, by virtue of long-continued use, acquired a more or less vested interest in its free navigation. The company's charter had, as has been seen, provided that the waterway should always remain open as a *neutral passage* to all ships, and acting upon the assurance thus given, the commercial interests of the East and West had already entered into relations based upon the

member refers have never been brought into operation."—*Hansard, Fourth Series, Vol. 60, pp. 799-800.*

Subsequently, on July 12, 1898, Mr. Gibson Bowles asked a further question as to "whether the Convention was still in existence and in operation; and if not, when and under what circumstances the Convention had ceased to exist or to operate?" Mr. Curzon, in reply, said: "The Convention in question is certainly in existence; but, as I informed an honorable member in reply to a question some days ago, has not been brought into practical operation. This is owing to the reserves made on behalf of Her Majesty's government by the British delegates at the Suez Canal Commission."—*Hansard, Vol. 61, p. 667.*

The reservation made by the British delegates may be found on page 292 of Blue Book, Egypt, No. 19, and is as follows: "Aussi les Délégués de la Grande-Bretagne . . . pensaient qu'il est de leur devoir de formuler une réserve générale quant à l'application de ses dispositions. En tant qu'elles ne seraient pas compatibles avec cette situation et qu'elles pourraient entraver la liberté d'action de leur gouvernement pendant la période de l'occupation de l'Égypte par les forces de Sa Majesté Britannique.

assumption of an always-open transit *via* Suez. But in the case of the Nicaraguan Canal, proposal is made to secure the immunity from belligerent operations of a work which as yet does not exist, and in regard to which no *quasi*-rights of passage can have been acquired. The territorial power in Central America has not, moreover, stipulated that the canal shall be perpetually a *neutral passage*, and while the chartered company which undertook the construction of the Suez waterway was most persistent in its efforts to secure for it a guarantee of immunity—having only financial and not strategic interests to serve—the United States, as constructor of the Nicaraguan Canal, may not unreasonably find that political and strategic considerations require it to exert its efforts in just the opposite direction from that pursued by the Suez Company.

Again, one must bear in mind that the question of transit across the Isthmus of Suez, has, at all times been more or less closely connected with the greater Egyptian question. Egypt had been, as has been pointed out, for over half a century under the more or less strict control of the European Powers which, from the Convention of London in 1840, had treated the affairs of the Khedival State as their common property. Not only so, but being under Turkish suzerainty, Egypt and Egyptian affairs formed a factor in the greater "Eastern Question," in the handling of which the Powers of Europe had long since acquired vested rights. Let it be borne in mind, therefore, that the question of the *status* of the Suez Canal in time of war was *not an isolated one*, but formed a part of the Egyptian question and through it, of the Eastern Question, in dealing with which the various Powers of Europe had acquired the right to a predominant voice. The neutralization agreement was looked upon as being but one step in the settlement of the mass of intricate questions—many of them still unsettled—arising out of the rival ambitions of European states to acquire interests in the Levant.

And yet another—though, perhaps, not as important—point of difference may be noted. The neutralization of the Suez Canal was undertaken and effected through the co-operation of practically all the European states. The Nicaraguan negotiations are being conducted by two Powers only with the result that an eventual agreement would necessarily bind—in the first instance—those two states alone. It can scarcely be taken as a certainty that all other states would give an unqualified assent to an agreement in the formulation of which they had been given no voice whatever. No agreement between the United States and Great Britain can establish any guarantee of neutrality which shall be more than co-extensive with the ability of those two Powers to enforce the provisions in the event of an attempted violation by non-signatory states. In the case of the Suez provisions, deference was duly had to the wishes of all the states which had cared to send representatives, and important attractions in the original drafts were made in compliance with the wishes of such minor states as Spain and Holland. It may be added that all important neutralizations such as those of Savoy, Belgium, Luxemburg, the mouths of the Danube and the Black Sea, as well as that of the Suez Canal, have been the result, not of an agreement between the two individual states most directly concerned, but of a general international agreement.

The case of the Suez Canal, therefore, can scarcely be taken—as some British writers, and the British press generally, have been rather disposed to take it—as an unqualified precedent for the neutralization of the projected Nicaraguan Canal by means of an agreement between the governments of Great Britain and the United States. Furthermore, if we recall that Lord Palmerston stoutly opposed, at the very outset, the construction of the Suez Canal, on the ground that it would be detrimental to British commercial and political interests; that after its successful completion the British ministry refused to accept de Lessep's proposal for its

neutralization on the ground that "it was open to many objections of a political and practical character;" asserting instead that Great Britain would, by her own might, secure the immunity of the canal from hostile attack; that the earliest sign of British disposition to concur in an agreement for the neutralization of the Suez waterway came only after the English occupation of Egypt; and finally that, in the absence of any official disavowal of Lord Curzon's statement, Great Britain still stands unpledged to observe the terms of the agreement of 1885; if these features are borne in mind, it will be seen that, from a British standpoint, the precedent is not one to be ruthlessly advanced.

Nevertheless, the action of the various European states in relation to the Suez Canal marked an important victory for the general idea of the neutralization of important international works. The day now seems almost gone when large developments in international law can satisfactorily be effected through the agencies of logic or analogy. The jurists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reasoned out the principles of their science; their successors, however, must chiefly build upon conventions between nations. As legal fictions and equity have ceased to be agents by which private law is extended or brought into harmony with the wants of society, and have given place to legislation; so in public law the *dicta* of text-writers count, as time goes on, for less and less while treaties and conventions import more and more.

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Berlin.

A MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.¹

In January, 1894, a Conference for Good City Government, held in Philadelphia, was attended by a goodly number of representative men, mainly from the Eastern states. Out of this Philadelphia Conference grew the National Municipal League, organized in New York City in May, 1894, and embracing in its affiliated membership the leading municipal reform organizations and, in its associate membership, students of municipal government throughout the United States. From 1894 to 1897 the League gathered information as to actual municipal conditions in typical American cities in every part of the country, from Boston to San Francisco, and from Chicago to New Orleans. From these cities of every class, whether a huge cosmopolitan city like New York, a small city of homogeneous population like Indianapolis, a bustling manufacturing city like Pittsburg, whether one of the older cities like Baltimore or Albany, or one of recent growth like Portland, Oregon, came the report that the local government was unsatisfactory, extravagant, inefficient and all too frequently that it was corrupt. It was plain that, tested by any standard of what such a government ought to be, city government was a failure in the United States.

This showing was appalling, and the League at its meeting in Louisville, in May, 1897, appointed a committee "to report on the feasibility of a Municipal Program, which will embody the essential principles that must underlie successful municipal government, and which shall also set forth a working plan or system consistent with American industrial and political conditions for putting such principles into practical operation." The committee made a preliminary report at the Indianapolis meeting of the League in 1898,

¹ *A Municipal Program.* Report of a Committee of the National Municipal League. Pp. 246. Price, \$1.00. The Macmillan Company.

and its final report at the Columbus meeting in November, 1899, when the League unanimously adopted the recommendations of the committee. This final report, published by the Macmillan Company under the title "A Municipal Program," is the subject of this paper.

The historical origin of American municipal government is in the chartered boroughs or municipal corporations of the Colonial period, when charters were granted by the provincial governors. The powers of the local government and its methods of administration were enumerated in the charter. Usually the governor appointed the mayor, who, however, had no special charter powers of great importance. From time to time the Colonial Assemblies granted additional powers for special purposes; and, since the municipality had no authority to levy a tax, whenever it wished to enter upon any undertaking involving taxation, it was forced to apply to the Colonial Assembly for the special authority. Toward the end of the Colonial period there were no municipal charters from the provincial governors, and the Colonial Assembly had come more and more to be regarded as the proper authority to control the local administration, not, however, so as to interfere with the powers already contained in the charter.

After the Revolution, municipal charters were simply legislative statutes and, as such, subject to change by later legislative statutes; and the charters granted by the provincial governors in Colonial times were now regarded as equally subject to the power of the state legislature. As the cities grew in number and population, this supremacy of the legislature continued. The legislature decided whether an additional power should be given to the municipality, or an old one taken away or modified, or a completely new schedule of powers should be granted. The legislature also decided what should be the scheme of city governmental organization to exercise the powers granted and altered the scheme whenever it saw fit.

The powers granted to cities, however, in Colonial times and for many years after the Revolution, were few in number. The public affairs of cities were on the whole matters of petty housekeeping, not calculated to arouse great public interest. A very small proportion of the population of the whole country lived in cities. As late as 1810 the public expenditures of New York City, with a population of 100,000, were only \$100,000. "In 1820 there were but thirteen towns in the United States with 8,000 population, and their combined population was less than five per cent of the entire population of the country." There was little, if anything, to create local political parties, *i. e.*, parties divided upon local questions. The active political interests of the citizens were centred in national questions, and contests for local office were a part of the strife in national politics, local appointive office early becoming the spoils of partisan politics. New York's mayor, for instance, at that time appointive, was changed nine times between 1801 and 1823, as often, that is, as the Council of Appointment changed its political complexion; in the Colonial period, although the mayor's nominal term was one year, he frequently retained the office for ten years.

By 1850 there were eighty-five towns in the United States with populations of 18,000 and upwards, and their combined population was approximately 3,000,000, about 12½ per cent of the population of the country. New York City then had a population of 500,000, Philadelphia 400,000, Boston and Baltimore 200,000 each. During this period of growth the cities were of necessity undertaking additional functions and, since the state legislatures were the source of municipal powers and legislative statutes were the means of granting them and regulating their exercise, special and local acts of state legislatures became increasingly frequent. The Ohio Legislature, in its session of 1849-50, passed 545 such acts.

Already, in 1850, the forces were clearly visible which

were massing population in centres of trade and manufacture; and, even then, discerning men could have foreseen the evil consequences of continuing the temporizing and little-considered methods of meeting the growing needs of municipalities. Only a few years earlier in England, when the city problem began to be of importance, there was, first, a careful investigation of the facts, and then, in 1835, a general Municipal Corporations Act passed by Parliament, so sound in its principles and so adjusted to the varying local needs of cities large and small throughout the kingdom, that, with comparatively unimportant changes, it has remained the fundamental law to this day under which the British cities have developed models of progressive and efficient municipal government adapted alike to their political traditions and their local needs. In this country, at the very time when there was most need of similar provision and wise preparation, almost the entire public political interest was necessarily centered in national questions. In the intensely exciting decade before the Civil War, during the war itself and during the years of reconstruction, the cities were left to grow and multiply without any well thought out plan for their government, with indeed scarcely any consideration of the principles which should underlie healthy and efficient municipal development. The struggle for national life and the ever-increasing effort of the people to become effective and direct participants in the control of national affairs, in spite of the obstacles imposed by the rigid framework of constitutional checks and balances, were the most marked political factors in the political growth of the country down to the close of the reconstruction period. The Civil War and Reconstruction settled the question of national life. That public attention should then begin to be directed more effectively to questions of local government was inevitable. It was equally inevitable that the same line of political development which tended to give the people a more direct and effective control in the public affairs of the nation should

now and for similar reasons begin to manifest itself in the field of local government. During the last two decades the efforts to improve municipal government have been directed more and more plainly toward securing effective responsibility to the people of the locality on the part of those charged with the satisfaction of their local needs or the control of their local public affairs.

In a country like ours, permeated with the democratic spirit, the problem of securing honest, progressive, efficient government is at bottom essentially the same whether considered as a national question or as one relating to a single city like Columbus or Philadelphia. In both cases, the first requisite is that the government shall be the product of and conform to the will of the governed when that will is deliberately expressed; shall be evolved from and responsible to the people it governs, not imposed by some outside authority. No other government can be good government according to the American democratic ideal, and the struggle to attain the realization of that ideal is the most potent and most permanent factor in our political development.

It is because until the closing years of the nineteenth century but slight public attention had been directed in this country to municipal government, and because the people, absorbed in other public questions, had left the cities to increase in population and multiply in number while applying only haphazard, makeshift and temporizing governmental methods to local public affairs, that we have a "Municipal Problem." The failure of city government in the United States has not been a failure of democracy. The brief outline we have given of our municipal history has shown, and a more detailed and thorough examination would but emphasize, the truth of the statement, that from the beginning there has not been a single city with a government based upon fundamental democratic principles and adequately equipped to apply those principles in the practical conduct of its public business. There has been in the popular mind no

concept of a city as government. No city has had adequate power of local government. Every city has been obliged to apply to some outside authority for grant of power to meet local needs. Taking New York as an example, even so recently as in 1870, its annual tax levy was laid by the state legislature. Even now, by far the largest portion of its huge annual budget, amounting to almost, if not quite, \$100,000,000, to be raised by local taxation, consists of expenses under mandatory acts of the state legislature; and to these must be added many millions more spent annually, the proceeds of bonds issued under legislative orders and to be paid by taxes upon city property. Whatever else such a city government may be, it is not a government of the city by its citizens or responsible to them. Its charter is a congeries of session laws covering hundreds of pages, changed in many respects, and attempted to be changed in many more, at every session of the legislature. New York but typifies upon a larger scale the conditions of city government generally.

To the superficial observer this condition sometimes indicates that political traditions in this country are against the application of democratic principles to the conduct of city affairs. A deeper insight and wider knowledge disclose a constant and growing popular unrest and discontent at the failure to apply these principles and a continual effort on the part of the cities to assert their rights to independence and to attain an assured and definite position in our governmental system. For now nearly half a century, that is, practically ever since cities began on account of their growing population and needs to assume much importance, there has been a slow but sure awakening to the fact that the city in the United States has been made the victim of forces which did not express the will of the people of the city, and that the means for expressing or enforcing that will as to matters of local public policy have been very imperfect, or practically non-existent. Along with and as a part of this awakening

there have been repeated efforts to free the city from the caprice of its tyrant, the state legislature, and to devise some way of expressing and enforcing the local will unconfused by national political partisanship. The many amendments to state constitutions which forbid or attempt to safeguard special city legislation, the classification of cities for purposes of legislation, the separation in date of local from general elections, the gradual increase in the power of the mayor in the city administration in order that the people of the city may hold someone directly responsible for the use of power in local matters, the limited veto which under New York's latest constitution may be exercised by the local authorities on the power of the legislature to enact local laws, the partial recognition in some states of a right in the people of a city to make its own organic law and scheme of government, and the widespread and growing interest in the ways and means to better municipal governmental conditions are full of meaning to the student of political history.

From the dawn of political history, two opposing tendencies have been in unceasing conflict. Their sources lie deep in human nature itself. On the one side, the ruler has sought to preserve and enforce authority without responsibility to the governed. On the other, what, at first on the part of the governed, was a mere resistance to oppression, gradually became an effort more and more conscious to secure from and enforce upon the ruler responsibility for the exercise of power. The effort has been often ill-directed. At times, it has been so intent upon the immediate gain as ignorantly to raise obstacles to further progress. Sometimes it has seemed entirely overslaughed by temporary exigencies, but it has never been wholly absent; and the ultimate result has never been doubtful since the essentially industrial character of advancing civilization has become pronounced—the realization of a government of the people, by the people and for the people through representatives chosen by and responsible to the people. No doubt this democratic ideal

has until comparatively recently been consciously present to the minds of but comparatively few of the active participants in the ages-long struggle between political authority over the people and political responsibility to the people for the use and abuse of authority. No doubt there are very many at the present time, even in the United States, who apprehend but very imperfectly, if at all, the intense energy of this movement toward democracy; yet the problem of problems politically is now, as for a long time past, how to enable this tremendous and in the end resistless force to attain its legitimate goal by peaceful evolution. Revolution is the alternative. He who has not learned this lesson has read political history to little purpose.

Almost eight hundred years ago, on the meadow of Runnymede, the Great Charter was exacted from a reluctant king. To us it seems to proclaim self-evident truths. But to secure their formal statement by political authority cost untold centuries of blood and suffering, and their enforcement is even now not complete. Yet, they but recognize some of the defensive rights of man, that he may live in reasonable security. It was inevitable that the recognition by the political authority of defensive rights in the governed, certain limits beyond which the arbitrary power of the government should not go, would be followed by the assertion and the ultimate recognition of rights in the governed which would tend to make an end of all arbitrary exercise of power by the government; that this, in turn, should be followed by the recognition of the right in the governed to take some direct and effective part in the government. And during the last century more and more plainly with each decade has appeared the ultimate end toward which from the outset the resultant of all the contending political forces has been tending during Anglo-Saxon history,—government chosen by and responsible to the governed, the identity of the government with the governed. In this country, since the Declaration of Independence, this doctrine has been pro-

claimed unceasingly from pulpit and platform and disseminated by the printing-press until it has become a fundamental article of political faith; and the history of governmental development in the United States is the history of the attempt to unite political power with political responsibility to the people as the source of the power.

Any scheme of municipal government, to be successful in the United States, must be an adequate expression of this fundamental democratic doctrine. And the government of the city, *i. e.*, those charged with the determination of its local public policy and the carrying out of the policy, must be chosen by and responsible directly to the people of the city. How shall this be done? Manifestly, the very first prerequisite is to clothe the city with ample power to manage its own affairs without outside aid; and, this accomplished, the next prerequisite is to prevent any outside authority from interfering. But the city is a subordinate division of the state and the state government *must* interfere. The state's policy, for example, as to the liquor traffic or as to education or public health must be enforced within the city limits. True, but this can be accomplished without the state prescribing with meddlesome detail the *entire* local policy in these respects. Does it follow because Ohio or Pennsylvania has a standard as to public education, or as to sanitary regulations applicable to the state at large, that therefore the legislature at Columbus or at Harrisburg must decide the *whole* educational policy or establish *all* the health ordinances of Cleveland and Philadelphia? Of course not. The distinction is obvious. The state legislature should confine itself to declaring the *state* policy; the enforcement of that policy in the cities should be entrusted to state administrative officials or to officials selected by the city, who should be subject to the supervision of a state administrative official. With the local city policy, as such, the state legislature should have nothing to do; it should pass no law affecting cities, except those equally applicable to all

cities or all the inhabitants of the state.¹ Neither this principle nor its application is a novelty. In New York the state policy as to the liquor traffic is declared in a state law and enforced by state officials in every part of the state; and the state educational policy is enforced by local officials under a state commissioner of education, while the localities vary greatly among themselves as to the extent and kind of education afforded at public expense not inconsistent with the state standard, and the local standard is often much higher. There is also in the same state very efficient state administrative supervision of the prisons and charitable institutions throughout the state. To clothe a city, therefore, with all necessary powers of government, and then leave it to exercise those powers subject to central state administrative (not legislative) control as to all matters of general state policy, equally applicable to all cities or all the inhabitants of the state, would not be revolutionary or contradictory to wholesome precedent. It would be in the direct line of political development and tendencies during the last twenty-five years which have sought to restrict special legislation for cities and have entrusted to state administrative officers the enforcement, or supervision of the enforcement, of state laws. Moreover, an examination of the governmental powers granted to cities discloses that, while not one city has sufficient power to manage its local affairs without aid from the state legislature, there is scarcely one governmental power which has not been granted to some city, and the manifest

¹ The Municipal Program of the National Municipal League contains the following provision:

"Special laws shall require the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the members of the legislature, and shall not be valid in any city unless they receive the formal approval of its council within sixty days after the passage thereof by the legislature, or, within thirty days after disapproval by the council of the city, shall again be passed by the legislature by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the members of the legislature, which two-thirds shall include three-fourths of the members of the legislature from districts outside of the city or cities to be affected. The failure of the council of the city to take formal action approving or disapproving a special law shall be deemed a disapproval thereof. Laws repealing such special laws may be passed in the manner provided for the passage of general laws."

tendency has been to grant more and more governmental powers to cities.

We have now stated the fundamental principle upon which is based the Municipal Program of the National Municipal League,—ample power in the city to conduct the local government, without possibility of outside assistance or of outside interference save by such supervision of a central state administrative authority as may be necessary to enforce a state law applicable alike to all the cities or all the inhabitants of the state. All else in the program is detail in the application of this principle. It is possible, had municipal government developed in the United States, as in England, under the operation of a thoroughly well thought out General Municipal Corporations Act, that in spite of the different political conditions here, the local council, as a grand committee of the citizens, would have proved here also entirely adequate to administer the local public affairs in a progressive, efficient and economical manner; and that the mayor, while important and influential, would have been so by virtue of his experience and influence as a leading member of the Grand Committee rather than because of any independent powers attached to his office as mayor. Much may still be urged in favor of "council government" for cities when cities are really free from the meddling of state legislatures. But the Municipal Program, recognizing that according to American political traditions a clear line of demarcation has been sought to be drawn between the functions of legislation, *i. e.*, of determining policy, and of the executive, *i. e.*, the execution of the policy determined upon, and that according to American precedents these functions have been sought to be entrusted to separate agencies; recognizing, also, that the line of municipal development in this country has been toward the exalting of the office of mayor and the enlargement of his powers as the chief local executive, has preserved that office and clothed it with full power to enforce, and corresponding responsibility for enforce-

ing, the execution of the local public policy. On the other hand, the Program recognizes that this policy should be determined by representatives chosen for that purpose by the citizens of the locality; and the local legislature, not the state legislature, is clothed with the power to decide every question of local policy, be it important like the ownership or operation of public utilities, or comparatively trifling like street encumbrances. The mayor and the members of the council are the only elective officers. Candidates must be nominated by petition. Local elections are separated by a year's interval from national or state elections. The ballot will be simple; the voter will not be confused by a multitude of offices and candidates. The secrecy of his vote is guaranteed. The Program recognizes also that in cities a larger share of the activities of government than in the state or national field is necessarily occupied with mere business administration which has no relation to political partisanship; and the merit principle is rigidly applied to every department of purely administrative public service in cities. That the great administrative departments in modern city governments should in the public interest be entrusted only to qualified specialists, experts in their several callings who should find satisfactory careers in performing their duties, the Program recommends that there be no fixed terms for such officers, but that the term depend solely upon efficient performance of official duties subject to termination at any time by the mayor for non-political reasons publicly stated. The Program also provides a method by which within certain limitations a city may make its own scheme of government for the exercise of the powers entrusted to it.

Clothed with ample authority to administer their local affairs, the people of the city cannot secure relief from their mistakes by application to outside authority, nor can they be made to suffer from the misdirected kindness or evil interference of any outside authority—this is the central thought of the Municipal Program. The will of the people,

when deliberately expressed, will control, and the people cannot escape expressing their will.

The alert public opinion certain to arise under such circumstances will find its sure and adequate expression in the city government. The local government will rest upon and be directly responsive to the local public opinion. This is the inner meaning of "Home Rule," a city government responsible to the people of the city. The struggle to obtain it is a part of the great democratic movement to which we have alluded, and which in this country has been progressing with accelerating energy ever since the adoption of the national Constitution. It gave birth to the national political parties, has reduced the Electoral College to a formality, has enlarged the suffrage, has transformed our state constitutions from declarations of principles to detailed statutes, has increased and is increasing the number of questions of public policy to be submitted to direct popular vote. In its constant efforts to clothe political power with political responsibility to the people as the real source of power, it has exalted the executive in national, state and local government, some times by statutes, more often by extra-legal practices; it has improved our election laws and is bettering our nomination methods; it is gradually purifying the public service; it is the irresistible foe of absolutism and, in the not distant future, will displace the "boss" in political parties by responsible leadership. In its larger aspect, it is a part of the perennial human struggle for freedom.

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THE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF PORTO RICO.

The financial problem that confronted the civil administration of Porto Rico upon its inauguration in May, 1900, was very much graver than the simple task of raising enough money to meet current expenses. It involved not only the reform of Spanish methods of administration, but the reconstruction of the existing system of taxation, and the latter problem, grave enough in itself, was complicated by certain social conditions largely engendered by centuries of Spanish control, but magnified by the effects of the change of sovereignty and the hurricane of August 8, 1899.

The fiscal system which the American army found in force upon their occupation of the island in October, 1898, had been, in appearance at least, a successful system. But few of the towns had been allowed to borrow, and none excessively; the insular government had no debt, and on several occasions had loaned money to the Spanish treasury; the taxes aroused no violent opposition, and were collected practically up to the last dollar.

The Spanish system of taxation comprehended a tariff of customs duties, plus tonnage duties, a transitory tax of 10 per cent, and additional imposts on the loading and unloading of freight and the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers, an insular *consumo* tax on petroleum, ecclesiastical bulls, real dues upon the inheritance and transfer of property, and taxes upon wills, bills of lading, notarial documents and instruments of indebtedness, all paid by means of stamps or stamped paper. These were the principal indirect taxes. There were in addition a passport or poll tax, a direct tax upon the income from agricultural and urban property, and a cumbersome system of license taxation called the industrial and commercial tax which was paid by corporations, professional and salaried men, as well as by merchants and manufacturers.

Such, in brief, was the Spanish system of taxation. Its efficiency was superficial. It aroused no opposition, because the direct taxes were largely evaded through the complexity of the law and the venality of the officials, while the greater burden of the indirect taxes was shifted from those who owned property and were able to protest effectively, upon a sodden, inarticulate peon class which was too ignorant either to protest or to realize the economic causes of its own degradation. The direct taxes were collected efficiently, but their collection was farmed out and the delinquent taxpayer was brought to book by an administrative process that was mercilessly effective when unimpeded by bribery. It supplied the needs of the State, because the government lacked almost all the functions which distinguish the modern from the medieval state. There were government officials by the hundred, but transportation was by pack-horse; there was a state church supported by taxes which, during the last decade of the preceding century, averaged nearly \$200,000 a year, but there were practically no public schools; there were courts of law, policemen in the cities, and a civil registry system, but the state conducted a lottery, gambling was unrestricted, petty thieving was, and still is, universal, and one-fourth of the children were born out of wedlock.

The activity of the military government was, of necessity, chiefly destructive. It is true that a new poll-tax was levied by the military government, although it was never collected, and excise or higher license taxes authorized on the sale of alcoholics, tobacco, matches, playing cards and oleomargarine, which failed to fulfill the purpose for which they were created, the supply of adequate municipal revenues. But, in general, the financial activity of the military government was very properly confined to the abolition of abuses in the Spanish law or administration. Ten days after the American occupation, the use of documentary stamps and stamp paper was abolished, and a month later the real dues on the inheritance and conveyance of property were annulled.

Following this came a gradual abolition of the *octrois* or *consumo* taxes, which the municipalities had been permitted to levy upon all articles of food, fuel and drink; until by general orders of April 24, 1900, practically all *consumo* taxes were removed save those on liquor and tobacco. In January, 1899, the rate of the territorial tax was reduced and the method of assessment simplified. In February the foreclosure of mortgages was suspended, and in the fall of the same year, following the hurricane, the collection of taxes was suspended.

The result of these measures has been to increase immeasurably the difficulties of the civil government with respect to financial administration. The suspension of tax collections resulted eventually in the accumulation in the treasury department of over ten thousand¹ "expedientes" or appeals for the remission of taxes, pending whose investigation and decision the taxes in question could not be collected. And the hurricane was doubly disastrous. In itself it was, as Mr. Carroll, the Special Commissioner of the United States, said, "terribly destructive." Its indirect result was a flood of hasty alms-giving that prevented a great amount of suffering but stimulated fraud and produced a certain pauperization of the lower classes.

Taken all in all the events and measures of the military government, together with the sentimental attitude of public opinion in the United States towards Porto Rico, fostered in the people a disinclination to pay the price of self-government, and a vague hope that, through borrowing or by the bounty of the United States, the burden of taxation would be indefinitely postponed. This condition is due to no fault of the military government; it is one of the inevitable results of the change of sovereignty through the intermediate stage of a military government. Our school histories speak glibly of the industrial disorganization attendant upon the change of government in the south after the civil war, but without

¹ The total number of tax-payers is only 40,000.

personal contact it is difficult to realize the intensity of the industrial timidity it creates and the hope it arouses in the minds of tax-payer and other public debtors that in the *mélee* of reconstruction they will be enabled to escape their obligations to the state.

To replace a preponderantly indirect by a preponderantly direct system of taxation; to abandon the *consumo* tax and secure larger revenues from sumptuary taxation upon alcoholics, tobacco and matches—matches being practically a supplementary commodity to tobacco in Porto Rico; to abolish the industrial and commercial tax which had been framed by the Spanish merchants, as they say in Porto Rico, “to push and pull with,” to push your competitor out of business and to be pulled down as low as was convenient for your own pocket; to resist paternalistic schemes of relief; to teach the people that self-government means self-support, and to inject more vigor and common honesty into the administration in the interior of the island; these were the larger financial problems of the civil government upon its inauguration in May, 1900.

Thorough reform could not be attempted until the meeting of the Legislative Assembly in December. But in the intervening seven months marked administrative improvements were made.¹

One of the most far-reaching changes was in the personnel of the treasury department. Conditions were particularly bad in the interior of the island, but the reform began in the office of the treasurer itself. During the Spanish régime the appointing power had been used to build up or retain a political following, and in order to make the following as large as possible, offices had been multiplied and salaries reduced until few clerks had either enough to do or enough salary

¹ The financial administration of Porto Rico is vested almost completely in the offices of the auditor and treasurer, the influence of these officers being greatly increased by the close connection between legislation and administration under the civil government, and by the fact that the auditor is a member, and the treasurer the chairman, of the finance committee of the executive council.

to yield them an honest living. Not only was the morale of the office low, but the work and responsibility were so distributed that it was almost impossible to bring an error or offence home to any particular individual. This system was promptly abolished. About half the men were discharged and their pay divided among those who were retained. The work was then divided in such a way that it automatically reaches a particular individual who is held responsible for its proper performance.

The trouble in the interior arose from the venality of the tax gatherers and from the fact that the assessment of direct taxes, both for insular and municipal purposes, was made by nearly two hundred separate boards appointed by the sixty odd municipal councils. The insular treasury under the Spanish régime had, of course, possessed the power of inspection and central revision of assessment. But both inspection and revision had been usually conducted by a courteous interchange of sonorous letters. The civil treasurer reached the root of the difficulty by using the telegraph and by appointing a corps of tax examiners and internal revenue inspectors. The result of their work is briefly described in the interesting report of the treasurer on the "Operations of the Office of the Treasurer, from May 1, 1900, to October 31, 1900:" "In the course of the attendant examination, irregularities, of a more or less long standing, were brought to light in the case of four deputy collectors, and prompt measures taken for the dismissal and punishment of the offenders, this taking the form, in one instance, of the extradition from France and criminal indictment of a fugitive official. Some three hundred cases of fraud against the excise tax on liquors and matches have been detected and referred, through the attorney general, to the district courts for prosecution, resulting, in the large majority of cases, in the conviction of the defrauders. Fines to the extent of over four thousand dollars have already been collected from these delinquents, and the sale

of internal revenue stamps has greatly augmented. Over four hundred cases of fraud on the industrial and commercial tax have also been reported and, in all these cases, the taxpayers have been made to properly assess their industries in the rolls and, in exceptional cases, where merchants were proved to be wilful violators of the law, the penalties and surcharges authorized by law have been imposed."

The effect of these measures is clearly seen in the quarterly collections, taxes being payable quarterly under the Spanish laws. In the quarter ending June 30, 1900, the collection of insular taxes, excluding customs receipts, amounted to \$107,650.16; in the quarter ending September 30, 1900, to \$132,113.63; and in the quarter ending December 31, 1900, to \$136,170.51. The collections in December, the last month of the last quarter, were the greatest of any month since the American occupation.

The brief session of the legislative assembly has now ended, and although only a few laws were enacted—thirty-six in all—most of them were of fundamental importance, and, if time prove that the subjects treated were wisely treated, the session will go down as one of the most memorable in Porto Rican history. Probably the most important, certainly the most widely discussed, act of the legislative assembly, was the passage of a comprehensive revenue bill, which marks the first step in the solution of the financial problems of Porto Rico, and which will, in all probability, constitute the foundation of the future financial system of the island.

This measure—known in Porto Rico as the Hollander Bill—specifically abolishes the old direct taxes only in so far as they were payable to the insular treasury, but it tacitly assumes the reconstruction of the system of municipal taxation and, in fact, takes the initial step in this reform by abolishing all *consumo* taxes and by providing that the tax rolls shall now be prepared, revived and preserved in the insular treasury and not by the sixty odd municipalities.

The principal features of the act are a property tax, an inheritance tax, and excise taxes on various articles.

The property tax replaces what, under the Spanish régime, had been virtually an income tax. This step was taken after long consideration, in virtue of the agricultural character of the island and in obedience to specific provisions of the Foraker Act. The tax itself is not essentially different from the familiar property tax of the States. The ordinary exemptions of churches, schools, working-tools, etc., have been made; the whole assessment will be in charge of a supervisor of assessment, who will be appointed by the governor and who, in turn, will appoint the division and district assessors; the collection of insular taxes will be in the hands of separate collectors, while the sale of property for delinquent taxes will be by the purely administrative process of the Spanish law, modified, however, by the privilege of redemption within three months after the sale; both the municipal and insular rates are limited to one-half of one per cent.

The inheritance tax is progressive, but, unlike most taxes of this kind, varies in accordance with the relationship of the heir and the value of each particular inheritance or bequest, while the commissions of administrators, here as in most other places usually excessive, are taxed as inheritances. The first two hundred dollars in value of every inheritance, and all the property passing to the wife, child, adopted child or grandchild of the decedent, are exempt; from \$200 to \$5,000, the rate is 1 per cent for husbands and lineal descendants, and 3 per cent for other heirs; from \$5,000 to \$20,000, the rate is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for husbands and lineal descendants, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for other heirs; upon the next \$30,000, 2 per cent and 6 per cent, respectively; and upon the value in excess of \$50,000, 3 per cent and 9 per cent, respectively.

The most interesting feature of the new revenue act is the system of excise taxes upon proprietary medicines, playing-cards, firearms, oleomargarine, matches, alcoholic liquors,

and tobaccos of all kinds. Speaking generally, the rates of the excise taxes are about one-half of those imposed in the United States. The operation of the taxes will also be radically different. In the United States, the stamp is placed upon the package of sale at the time of manufacture, while the most thorough surveillance is maintained both of the sale and manufacture. In Porto Rico, the stamp will be placed on the bill of sale or lading which accompanies the shipment of goods from the factory, while the inspection will be confined almost wholly to the manufacturer and wholesale merchant. These changes were necessitated by the fact that the manufacturer of rum and tobacco, although relatively much more important industries than those of the United States, could not bear the same rates of taxation, while it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the manufacturers are unable to pay the taxes upon their stocks of finished products until they are sold, the purchaser, at present, almost always forwarding the stamps required on the goods which he purchases. At the same time, the device of placing the stamps on the retail packages is a failure in Porto Rico. The patient peon is too economical to tear the stamp upon his box of cigarettes or matches. He sets himself in the sun and soaks the stamp off, washes it, and uses it to buy more cigarettes or matches. And it is impossible to root out the practice by any reasonable amount of surveillance because of the mountainous character of the country, the cost of transportation, the lack of police and the universality of the practice. On several occasions, cigarettes have been found with ten-cent stamps upon packages which sold for one cent.

Under the present system each manufacturer will be furnished with a stub sales-book,¹ on the page and stub of which he will be required to describe each shipment which leaves his factory. The stamps will then be pasted over the per-

¹ Strictly speaking, the tax will be upon the shipment rather than upon the sale of the goods.

forated line which separates the stub and the bill, in such a way that when the bill is detached part of each stamp will be left upon the stub and part upon the bill. Manufacturers will be required to return the stubs to the treasury, and merchants the bills, at regular intervals, so that in this way a reliable check can be kept upon the goods manufactured and sold in the island; while a perfect check can be kept upon imports and exports by means of the customs officers and the applications for rebates allowed upon exports.

The revenue bill was passed unanimously in the upper legislative house, and with but one dissenting vote in the lower house. But it has been subjected to an immense amount of criticism, and a meeting attended by many of the largest property-holders of the island, held after the bill had become a law, sent a delegation to Washington to petition Congress against its enforcement.

Time will prove whether a mistake has been made in subjecting property to a maximum tax of one per cent for both insular and local purposes, or whether this protest is a merely selfish outcry against the shifting of the centre of gravity of taxation from a class of consumers, who as a class are wretchedly poor, upon a class of property owners, who as a class are well able to pay. Two facts, however, are incontestable: the one, that the rich Spanish merchants are with the opposition, almost to a man; the other, that during the Spanish régime, this class evaded their lawful taxes with a success that put the American tax-dodger to shame.

The passage of the revenue bill marks only the first stage in the solution of the real financial problem of Porto Rico. The nature of that problem is well illustrated by a bill, passed by the house of delegates with the approval of practically the whole native population, which directed the insular government to secure and guarantee loans to the farmers and planters of the island, to the amount of \$3,000,000.00.

The justification of such a scheme depends largely upon whether the present agricultural depression is due to tem-

porary conditions, and hence curable by an extraordinary remedy, or to deep-rooted social habits which will only be eradicated by generations of change and improved industrial education. When questioned upon this specific point, the defendant of the loan answers promptly that the present condition is the result of the hurricane and the industrial disturbances attendant upon the change of government. Questioned in another connection, however, he is quite willing to admit that before the Spanish war agricultural conditions were substantially similar to those prevalent in the southern states previous to the birth of the new south; that the planters were in the hands of the money-lenders, improvident and unprogressive, ready to borrow at exorbitant rates, but seldom ready to pay when the debt matured.¹ Public loans at 7 per cent would be spent as the old private loans at 15 per cent, and leave as little permanent effect.

As was to be expected, the bill was defeated by the American members of the finance committee of the executive council. But it sums up admirably the greater financial problems of Porto Rico: the agricultural depression, the desire to postpone the inevitable liquidation of indebtedness, the willingness of the people to subsidize a branch of industry which private credit is afraid to assist, the eagerness for new capital instead of new entrepreneurs, for new wine, but in the old bottles.

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San Juan, Porto Rico.

¹ The testimony upon this point is unanimous: see speech of Mr. Crosas in the "Journal of Executive Council of Porto Rico," January 31, 1901, and the testimony of General Davis in the "Hearing before the Committee on Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico," page 37. Both of these gentlemen are defendants of an agricultural loan.

THE FUNCTION OF SAVING.¹

Under the above title Mr. Bostedo has criticised, in the January number of the *ANNALS*,² some views which I expressed in my work, "The Positive Theory of Capital," in regard to the influence of saving on the formation of capital. While I advanced and illustrated by means of various examples the opinion, that an increase in the capital of a community can only take place in consequence of a balance of saving over spending on the part of its members, Mr. Bostedo arrives at an exactly opposite conclusion, namely, that "saving, as the term is commonly understood, has no influence whatever on the formation of capital."

My surest vindication would consist, I have no doubt, in asking the reader to study point by point, the detailed exposition of this subject in my "Positive Theory."³ The solution of a problem of this nature can only be presented by creating in the reader's imagination, in place of a superficial view of the surface money phenomena which present themselves to every-day observation, a complete and at the same time plastic picture of the actual relations of modern industrial society. Such a complete picture I have tried to sketch in my "Positive Theory," and I cannot, for obvious reasons, repeat the undertaking in these pages. I must rather content myself with commenting upon the particular points and difficulties which Mr. Bostedo raises in his criticism.

Mr. Bostedo accuses me, in substance, of having committed three errors: Of having made an ambiguous use of the word "saving," of having chosen an "unnatural" and therefore inadmissible illustration for the development of my doctrine, and of having fallen into a logical blunder in the course of this development.

¹ Translated from the German by the Editor.

² Vol. xvii, pp. 95-99.

³ Pp. 100-118 in the English version.

First, he maintains that I have characterized indifferently two quite distinct conceptions as "saving." Sometimes I have designated by this term the motives which determine the direction of production—and, in this sense my theory in regard to the influence of saving upon the formation of capital, though indeed correct, is of slight importance—sometimes, however, I have employed the term for an altogether different purpose, denoting thereby what everybody understands by "saving"—and in this usual sense my theory is false.

In reply I wish merely to insist that I have not confused two conceptions of "saving" in my writings, but that I have merely endeavored to analyze completely one conception and to present to the reader an all-around picture of the "saving" process. To put the matter more concretely, that which "everybody understands as saving" has first of all its negative side, that is, the not-consuming of a portion of income, or, in terms applicable to our money-using society, the not-spending of a portion of the money annually received. This negative aspect of saving is the one which is made most prominent in every-day speech, and is often the only one considered, since comparatively few people follow the sums of money saved further than to the receiving window of a bank or trust company. But here the positive part of the saving process only just begins, to complete itself quite out of the range of vision of the person who saves, whose action has nevertheless given the impulse to the whole movement: the bank collects the savings of its depositors and places them at the disposal of the business community in one form or another—through advances on mortgages, loans to railroads and other corporations in exchange for their bonds, accommodations to business managers, etc.—for use in the furtherance of productive enterprises, which but for such aid either could not be prosecuted at all or not with the same efficiency. If those who save had refrained from so doing and instead had lived more luxuriously, that is, bought and

consumed more or finer foods, wines, clothing and other pleasure-affording goods, they would, through their increased demand for these commodities, have stimulated their production; conversely, as a result of their saving portions of their incomes and depositing them in banks, they give an impulse to production in the direction of increasing the output of productive appliances, of railroads, factories, machines, etc. Whether I am accurate in this analysis of the effect of saving will appear in connection with my discussion of the third of the above criticisms. At this point I wish merely to insist that my theory does not involve two different conceptions of saving, but that the saving which acts as impulse or motive in giving direction to production is exactly the same "saving as it is commonly understood." I simply direct attention to the other side of the process, to the positive consequences of the negative first step, which is the not-consuming.

Turning to the second point, Mr. Bostedo declares, that the illustration by means of which I try to make clear the influence of saving on the formation of capital, "supposes a very unnatural case." I had, merely by way of illustration, assumed that "each individual in the community consumes, on the average, only three-quarters of his income and saves the rest." If Mr. Bostedo means by his criticism that it is quite improbable that in any large community every individual, without a single exception, should save from his income at the same time and in the same proportion, he is undoubtedly right. But, as a matter of fact, as my introductory phrase, "on the average," indicates, I do not lay the slightest weight upon the details of my illustration, and even if I did, the mere *improbability* of the case assumed would not in the least invalidate it as an aid in the exposition of a general principle. Indeed, I would like, here, to venture the paradoxical assertion that good illustrations which are to serve in the elucidation of complex phenomena, must always involve a large measure of improba-

bility. This is because good examples must always be simple, comprehensive and striking, and must accordingly depart widely from the confused and undifferentiated facts of real life. I believe that Hume's classic example, that every person in the country on rising in the morning finds a gold piece in his pocket, will be admitted to be more improbable than the one I employed, and that Mr. Bostedo's own assumption, with which his criticism concludes, "that all the members of the community produced all their lives and all their lives lived up to their incomes," is, from the point of view of actual conditions, certainly no more probable than mine.

But—and this brings us to the third criticism, which touches at once the most important and most interesting point in the controversy—my illustration is characterized as not merely "unnatural" but even as "impossible," and the explanation built upon it is described as both "confused and contradictory."

The "impossibility" of my assumption, Mr. Bostedo undertakes to prove by means of the following syllogism: When all of the members of a community simultaneously save one-quarter of their incomes, they thereby reduce by one-quarter their demand for consumption goods. The lessened demand compels producers to curtail production correspondingly. But if production shrinks along with consumption, then obviously there can be no outlet for savings; the realization of the assumed saving of one-quarter of the community's income is thus shown to be impossible.

I suspect that this syllogism will arouse in the minds of most readers the suspicion that altogether too much has been proved. For if it were true, then not only would the simultaneous saving of one-fourth of the community's income be impossible, but all real saving would be impossible. If every attempt to curtail consumption must actually result in an immediate and proportionate curtailment of production, then indeed no addition to the accumulated wealth of society

could ever result from saving. Particular individuals might save portions of their incomes, but only on condition that other individuals in the same community consumed in excess of theirs; as a whole society could never lay aside portions of its social income, and the accumulations which certain nations like the French or Dutch have made in consequence of their greater average thrift in comparison with such peoples as the Spaniards or the Turks, must, however universal such phenomena may appear, be described as sheer illusion. I believe that Mr. Bostedo is really disposed to cling to this opinion with all its consequences; at any rate, his concluding statements seem to me to harmonize with this view, for he says with special emphasis that every saving is only a transfer of purchasing power from the savers *to other members* of the community. I am even more confident, however, that most readers will refuse to accept this analysis as one corresponding with their experience, and will conclude rather that there is something wrong with a chain of reasoning which leads to such an improbable conclusion.

The fault in the reasoning is indeed not far to seek. It is that one of the premises, the one which asserts that a curtailment of "consumption for immediate enjoyment" must involve also a curtailment of production, is erroneous. The truth is that a curtailment of consumption involves, not a curtailment of production generally, but only, through the action of the law of supply and demand, a curtailment in certain branches. If in consequence of saving, a smaller quantity of costly food, wine and lace is bought and consumed, less of these things will *subsequently*—and I wish to emphasize this word—be produced. There will not, however, be a smaller production of goods generally, because the lessened output of goods ready for immediate consumption may and will be offset by an increased production of "intermediate" or capital goods.

This last proposition is just what Mr. Bostedo refuses in

express terms to admit. In defending his position he adds to his first syllogism a second designed especially to prove that this assumption of mine is incorrect and, moreover, that it is inconsistent with the premises upon which my own theory rests.

His argument is essentially as follows: Production is universally called forth and guided by demand. This is true, even of the production of capital, since capital consists, according to my own theory as quoted by Mr. Bostedo, simply of unfinished goods. These are demanded, it goes without saying, only when and in so far as the finished or consumption goods expected to be made from them are demanded. It follows that, at last analysis, the production of capital goods is also called forth and guided only by demand for consumption goods. If, now, in consequence of universal saving, the demand for consumption goods is reduced by one-quarter, then it is not apparent how it can be possible for more capital goods than formerly to be demanded and produced. For who would have any inducement to producing an additional quantity of unfinished goods when the demand for finished goods, instead of becoming greater, has actually become less? What kinds of products are to be made from the increased supply of unfinished goods? Who is to buy them?

This reasoning of my honored critic is certainly presented with great dialectical skill. It has, however, one weak point. There is lacking from one of his premises a single but very important word. Mr. Bostedo assumes and represents me as assuming in my illustration, that saving signifies necessarily a curtailment in the demand for consumption goods. "He had assumed," he says, referring to me, "that all the people have curtailed their demand for consumption goods one-fourth." Here he has omitted the little word "present." The man who saves curtails his demand for *present* consumption goods but by no means his desire for pleasure-affording goods generally. This is a proposition which,

under a slightly different title, has already been repeatedly and, I believe, conclusively discussed in our science both by the older writers and in contemporary literature. Economists are to-day completely agreed, I think, that the "abstinence" connected with saving is no true abstinence, that is, no final renunciation of pleasure-affording goods, but, as Professor Macvane happily described it, a mere "waiting." The person who saves is not willing to hand over his savings without return, but requires that they be given back at some future time, usually indeed with interest, either to himself or to his heirs. Through saving not a single particle of the demand for goods is extinguished outright, but, as J. B. Say showed in a masterly way more than one hundred years ago in his famous theory of the "vent or demand for products" (*des débouchées*),¹ the demand for goods, the wish for means of enjoyment is, under whatever circumstances men are found, insatiable. A person may have enough or even too much of a particular kind of goods at a particular time, but not of goods in general nor for all time. This doctrine applies particularly to saving. For the principal motive of those who save is precisely to provide for their own futures or for the futures of their heirs. This means nothing else than that they wish to secure and make certain their command over the means to the satisfaction of their future needs, that is over consumption goods at a future time. In other words, those who save curtail their demand for consumption goods in the present merely to increase proportionately their demand for consumption goods in the future.

But if this is true—and I believe that Mr. Bostedo himself has no other conception of the nature of saving since he also, towards the end of his communication, recognizes that those who save expect a future return either to themselves or to their heirs, that they therefore do not "renounce" but merely "wait"—then the occasion for a curtailment of production—as Mr. Bostedo describes the matter—is absent,

¹ "Traité d'économie politique," Bk. I, chap. xv.

since the demand for goods generally has not become smaller. There is, however, it is true, occasion for a change in the direction of production as I should describe it; for if fewer consumption goods are demanded at the moment and more in the future, and production is not to outrun the demand—as both of us assume—the productive powers must be so disposed that fewer consumption goods will be produced at the moment and proportionally more will come to maturity in the future. The principal way to effect this result is to invest the productive forces, land and labor, in more extended or round-about processes of production, or to produce in larger quantity than before “intermediate products,” from which, at a later period, goods ready for consumption may issue—in other words to increase the production of capital goods.

When Crusoe on his island saves up a store of provisions in order to gain time for the fashioning of better weapons, with which he hopes later to secure a much larger quantity of provisions, these relations are all clearly discernible. It is obvious that Crusoe’s saving is no renunciation, but simply a waiting, not a decision not to consume at all, but simply a decision not to consume yet; that furthermore there is no lack of stimulus to the production of capital goods nor of demand for the consumption goods subsequently to be produced by their aid.

In a complex industrial society with a highly differentiated division of labor the relations are the same, though they are not quite so easy to understand. One difficulty in the latter case is connected with the fact that the varieties of consumption goods to be demanded and the periods of time when they will be demanded, either by the person who saves or by his heirs, is not usually predetermined. The person who saves has in his hand, as it were,—and I think Mr. Bostedo’s opinion coincides closely with this view—an order calling for future means of enjoyment in general, which he may have filled exactly as he pleases in this or that kind of

consumption goods, dwelling houses, clothes, equipages, wines, etc., and which he may present for partial or complete satisfaction whenever he pleases, or even cause to be renewed again. From this circumstance results, it is not to be denied, a certain complexity from the point of view of production. But Mr. Bostedo appears to me not only to exaggerate the degree of this complexity, but to altogether misunderstand its real nature. While it is usually not possible to designate in advance the kinds of consumption goods towards which the demand of those who save will be directed, Mr. Bostedo assumes without more ado that such a demand, which is to serve as a stimulus and motive to further production, will be altogether absent. Such an assumption is just as indefensible as would be the assumption of a banker, who has received deposits and issued in exchange therefor certificates payable on demand in whatever form of currency the depositor may prefer, that he has no deposit liabilities whatever, and therefore is under no necessity of making provision to redeem these certificates of deposit by setting aside a reserve of means of payment. To be sure it is uncertain in just what form of currency or at just what time the deposit will be demanded, but that *it will be* demanded is certain. In exactly the same way it is certain that those who save will not merely not forego their claim to goods in the future, but that sometime they will assert it as regards both capital and interest, and that they will then draw out such goods as they choose in such quantity as they choose, up to the limit fixed by the amount of their claim, and that production may and must take into account this future demand.

✓ But how can production take account of a demand whose direction is not yet known? This difficulty appears at first thought to be very great, but as a matter of fact it is not at all serious and in any event it is no different and no greater than analogous difficulties with which every system of production depending upon the division of labor must reckon

quite aside from the phenomenon of saving. The difficulty is not very serious because, in accordance with the law of large numbers, particular idiosyncracies and whims to a certain extent offset and compensate each other. The case of depositors in a bank serves here again as a good illustration. Each separate depositor may draw out the whole or a part of his deposit, whenever he chooses, but if the banker has a large number of depositors experience teaches that all of them will never want their deposits at once, but that the withdrawals will obey, more or less perfectly, a regular rule, and, in consequence of this fact, as is well known, bankers need to keep as a reserve in ready money only a small proportion of their demand liabilities and may invest the remainder in their business. It is exactly the same way in the case of saving. Here, too, production may count on having only a certain proportion of the claims to capital and interest presented as demands for consumption goods in each productive period and on having the remainder prolonged as titles to ownership over intermediate products or capital goods. Production, consciously or unconsciously adjusts itself to the situation, when, as must be the case in every capitalistically organized community, matters are so ordered that in each period a certain quantity of goods ready for consumption is turned out, while a greater stock of goods in the form of capital remains over for the service of future periods.

But, one may ask, to what kinds of consumption goods shall production be directed when it is not known in what kinds of goods those who save may decide to have their claims discharged? The answer is very simple: those directing production know this no better, but also no worse of the special demand of those who save than they know it of the demand of consumers generally. A highly complex, capitalistic and sub-divided system of production does not wait usually for wants to assert themselves before providing for them, it has to anticipate them some time in advance.

Its knowledge of the amount, the time and the direction of the demand for consumption goods does not rest on positive information, but can only be acquired by a process of testing, guessing or experimenting. Production may indeed make serious mistakes in this connection and when it does so it atones for them through the familiar agency of crises. Usually, however, it feels its way, drawing inferences for the future from the experience of the past, without serious mishap, although sometimes little mistakes are with difficulty corrected by a hasty rearrangement of the misapplied productive forces. Such readjustments are materially facilitated, as I was at pains to show at length in my "Positive Theory," by the great mobility of many intermediate products.

Moreover, the law of large numbers acts here again as a balancing and compensating agency. It is, indeed, highly improbable that all of those who save will liquidate their counter claims in exactly the same kinds of consumption goods. It is much more probable that their claims to pleasure-affording goods will divide themselves between the different branches of production in the same proportion that has already determined the direction of previous productive processes, or at any rate that they will not depart suddenly and violently from the standard so set. The compensating effect of the law of large numbers is further re-enforced by the fact that the demand for consumption goods arising from the counter claims of those who have saved constitutes no isolated influence but is fused with the other demands for consumption goods of all the other classes in industrial society into one great composite demand.

Finally, one further consideration, whose influence Mr. Bostedo appears to me to have ignored without the least justification, must not be overlooked. This is the increased efficiency which production acquires in consequence of the prolongation of the period of production made possible through saving. With or without an increasing demand on the part of the public, every individual producer is striving

to improve his methods of production, since in this way he may get ahead of his competitors and secure for himself a larger share of the market. If, now, the opportunity is presented to business managers through the offer of the savings of others, to improve their productive appliances, no one need feel any anxiety that they will not be glad to embrace such a chance and that the "inducement to a greater investment of capital," which Mr. Bostedo fails to discover, will not be present. And if the technical improvement once works out its effects in the shape of more efficient production and cheaper products, no one need again be concerned lest the cheapening shall fail to call forth new strata of demand, nor lest the all around increase in the supply of products shall fail to lead on the other hand to a proportionate increase in sales in the sense of Say's famous theory of "vent or demand for products."

It is thus, in my opinion, that the phenomena connected with saving are interrelated. The matter presents itself to me otherwise than to Mr. Bostedo, but not, I hope, because my view is less comprehensive or more superficial.

Mr. Bostedo appears to me to leave a serious gap in his explanation of the formation of capital, when he decides to disregard entirely the part which saving plays in the process and to rely exclusively upon the ability of capital goods to come into existence of themselves so soon as the demand for consumption goods directs itself towards those in whose production the capital goods required play a useful rôle. For he overlooks here the fact that all kinds of pleasures and pleasure-affording goods may be created in a great variety of different ways; grain, the most universal necessity of life, may be produced either by so-called "extensive" culture in short periods with little capital, or by so-called "intensive," long-period culture with correspondingly more capital; and one may travel either on a mule's back, in a sedan chair, by carriage, by automobile or by railway. When a nation acquires a taste for travel, it cannot unfortunately place the

slightest reliance on the ability of lines of railway to spring up spontaneously out of the ground, but if it wishes to construct them with its own resources, it must have previously saved the needed sums out of its income, and if this has not been done, it must call in the aid of the savings of other nations; but for the savings of the English and the French, Egypt would not to the end of time have built the Suez Canal.

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COMMUNICATIONS.

BELGIUM'S GOVERNMENT INSURANCE BANK.

Like the savings bank, the insurance bank looks beyond the direct good to be accomplished in enabling the poor to provide against future misfortune, to the indirect and larger good of inculcating habits of thrift and frugality among the classes which suffer most from the lack of these qualities.

Belgium, in addition to the general savings and pension bank established under the guarantee of the state by the law of March 16, 1865, has created an insurance bank, annexed to the pension bank and also under the guarantee of the state. The rates and conditions of insurance are set forth in the royal decree of June 16, 1896. The bank insures for life principals to an amount not exceeding 5,000 francs for one person. Its business may therefore be compared with industrial insurance in the United States, as in this country ordinarily only industrial insurance companies write less than \$1,000 on a single life. Industrial premiums in this country may be paid weekly, but the premiums to the Belgium bank are paid yearly, or may be paid all at once. It may be stipulated that the principal will, at the falling due of the contract, be deposited in the Belgium pension bank, and employed in the acquisition of securities to the profit of the beneficiary or beneficiaries.

The insurance department is managed by the council of administration of the bank, of which the director-general is the executive head. The general conditions of these insurances are fixed by the general council of the savings and pension bank, subject to royal sanction. The approved regulations require a signed declaration and a medical certificate as the basis of the insurance, and these form an *integral part* of the contract. False declarations, even when made in good faith, which modify the character of the risk, are cause for annulling the contract without notice to the insured. The contract may be annulled for other causes also, notably in the case of suicide or of death resulting from habitual excesses of drink. In such cases the premiums, less 3 per cent, are repaid.

Proof of death must be made within three months. In case of death by war or by a riot, the bank reimburses the redemption value of the capital insured increased by one-twentieth of the difference between the capital invested and the redemption value. Should the taker of insurance prove incapable of earning his living, a declaration and a doctor's certificate secure the repayment of the redemption

value of the policy. In case of non-payment of a premium, the policy is replaced by a paid-up policy for a reduced capital depending on the number of premiums already paid. The policy may be revived within five months of the date of lapse upon renewed application, payment of premiums in arrears, with interest at 3 per cent per annum, and satisfactory medical evidence of insurability. The bank may take in the members of recognized mutual aid societies upon special conditions. Dividends or a distribution of surplus may take place at the discretion of the council of administration every five years.

The tariffs are based on 3 per cent as the rate of interest, 3 per cent as the expense of administration or registration, and on the chances of mortality calculated by M. Quetelet, director of the Royal Observatory of Brussels. The expenses of medical examination are paid not by the bank, but by the taker of insurance.

The minimum premium contracted for, either annual or single, is 10 francs (\$2) paid in advance. The industrial companies of America contract for weekly premiums as low as five cents (\$2.60 per annum). A remarkable difference is found in the relative methods of determining premiums and benefits or principals insured. The Belgium insurance bank charges a fixed premium, the same for all ages and kinds of policies, making the capital insured vary according to the mortality and the time of investment. In America the premium varies while the amount of the policy is fixed for all ages and contracts. The endowment feature, common to old line policies, and recognized in child's endowment industrial policies, is embodied in mixed insurance by the Belgium government. The insured capital is payable at the end of the contract or at the end of the insurance year in which the death of the insured takes place, if the latter dies before the expiration of the contract.

A comparison of the rates for the maximum bank policy (\$1000) in Belgium and for the minimum ordinary policy (\$1000) in the United States is interesting: At age 52 next birthday on a three per cent basis and American mortality, the annual premium in the New York Life Insurance Company on an endowment maturing in 10 years or at previous death is \$116.10 per \$1000 of insurance. Belgium's insurance bank offers \$1000 on the same conditions for \$100. All the other rates under Tariff I are relatively as cheap. At age 25, the premium of a thirty-year premium life policy in the New York Life is \$25.64 per \$1000. Tariff II of the insurance bank offers similar protection at the rate of \$22.84 for \$1000 (\$2 per \$87.44). At age 40 a single-premium life policy in the New York Life costs \$496.41 per \$1000. The Belgium rate is exactly \$500 per \$1000. So that the cheapness of the insurance

offered by the government results from the economy of administration rather than from a lower death-rate. The poor have better protection under the honest administration of the bank than under a private corporation conducted according to competitive principles as practiced in the United States.

Industrial insurance has gone far toward supplying the need of more stimulus to the savings habit. It is based on the inherent trait of Anglo-Saxon peoples to provide a respectful burial of their dead. The earlier forms of association, such as guilds, fraternities or secret orders, and trades' unions have failed lamentably to guarantee a proper financial return to the insured. Mr. Peacock, of Zanesville, Ohio, seems to have made the first attempt to adapt life insurance to the industrial classes in the United States.¹ The idea is to give the masses as well as the classes a present means of obtaining a certain advantage over an uncertain event. The fact that pauper burials have steadily decreased from the rate of 210 per 100,000 in 1880-84 to the rate of 156 per 100,000 in the period from 1895-99 shows a result which may be largely due to the increased savings creditable to the industrial companies. The evidence of a robust struggle on the part of millions of the working people to attain economic independence has turned public opinion in favor of even child insurance.

It might be economically advantageous to have an insurance bank guaranteed by the United States. The cost of industrial insurance is the great objection to private control. The mortality is higher than in ordinary life risks because of less careful physical and moral investigation. Not only the number of bad risks, but also the commissions for underwriting and collecting are greater. Government ownership would be a practical monopoly and avoid the expenses of competitive solicitation of insurance and the collection of the premiums from the homes of the insured. Stamps might be used to pay the premiums at the post-office. But the movement for industrial insurance in this country seems destined to develop along natural lines rather than by legislation creating a government insurance bank.

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FRANCHISE LEGISLATION IN MISSOURI.

Among the laws passed by the Legislature of Missouri at its recent session was one providing that corporations doing business within the state should be subject to a tax upon the special privileges or franchises which they possess. The subject of franchise legislation was made very prominent by both parties in the campaign of 1900. The

¹ *Vide*, Insurance Times, 1868, p. 232.

platform adopted by the Democratic party at Kansas City on June 6, 1900, contained the statement that "we believe all corporations doing business in this state should bear the just proportion of taxation; we therefore demand the taxation of all corporate franchises, both domestic and foreign, doing business in the state." In reply to this the Republicans declared ten days later, at the same place, "that the Republican party stands pledged to the enactment of such equitable revenue statutes as will equally distribute the burden of taxation upon all classes of property, tangible or intangible, and we denounce the duplicity of the Democratic party of the State of Missouri in representing to the people that they favor the taxation of public franchises while their legislative enactments prove the dishonesty of their representations."

The November election resulted in the choice of a Democratic governor and a legislature overwhelmingly of the same political faith, and when the latter body met in January there was no obstacle in the way of the fulfillment of the party's pledge. The Republican papers declared constantly that the promise was not made seriously, and there seemed to be some justification for the charge in the conduct of the party in power, which could come to no agreement for weeks in spite of its great majority. It was given out that the arguments of a powerful lobby had converted the legislature, until the latter now believed that a franchise law "would be ruinous to corporations now on the verge of bankruptcy, such as the St. Louis Transit Company, capitalized at \$90,000,000; the Laclede Gas Company, valued at \$20,000,000; and the Missouri Pacific Railroad." There seemed to grow up in the party a faction that was decidedly lukewarm on the subject at issue. Indeed, no less a person than the speaker of the House of Representatives was quoted as saying that "under the present laws it is within the power of the state to tax all property in the state. I am in favor of a law to tax franchises, not because I think it would give any more power than we now have, but it would remove all doubt on this point. In fact, I do not believe you will ever be able to frame a law that will give you any more authority than you now have."

But the desire to pass some sort of a franchise tax law was felt by many of the legislators, and bills to that effect were frequently proposed during the session. Some succeeded in passing the committees to which they were referred. Some got through one house, but none seemed likely to pass both bodies and become a law. Governor Dockery was at all times an interested watcher of these attempts, and when it appeared that the time for adjournment would find no law ready for his signature, he began himself to take an active part in the deliberations of the legislature. While the bills from the senate and

house committees were before the senate, he appeared in person, with a substitute bill of his own writing, at a meeting of the committee of the latter body.

In a special message to the senate, he wrote that "in considering legislation of this character, the difference between private business corporations and those owning public utilities, performing public services, and possessing special and peculiar privileges, conferred upon them by the state or its municipalities, must not be overlooked. There is a distinction between the character and nature of the franchise conferred upon a private corporation, formed to conduct an ordinary business enterprise, and the franchise conferred upon a quasi-public corporation. The difference is not merely in degree, but also in kind. There is no constitutional obstacle to prevent the classification of objects for the purposes of legislation, provided such classification is a natural and not merely an arbitrary one.

"A private business association receives from the state the privilege to be a corporation. This is all that is conferred upon it. . . . It is not so, however, with corporations possessing the privilege of using the public streets, acting as common carriers, receiving and collecting tolls, and performing other public services and functions, under the permission of the state and its municipalities. Such special privileges add greatly to the value of the tangible property of the corporation, and constitute intangible property which has a real, substantial value. Whatever adds to the value of property upon the market should enter into the estimate of its value for taxation. It is not in such cases the right or privilege 'of being a corporation' that should be taxed (which is all that is conferred upon a private corporation, and can be obtained by the proper number of citizens at any time) but the special privilege of exercising public functions, using public property and managing public utilities."

The exertions of Governor Dockery had their reward when, a very short time before the end of the session, a bill was at last passed "for the taxation of franchises and requiring the state board of equalization to assess the same." By the law as enacted and signed by the governor it is provided that all corporations or quasi-corporations, save those formed for religious, educational or benevolent purposes, "owning, operating and managing public utilities, and . . . possessing special and peculiar privileges and authorized by law to perform any public service" shall have their franchises assessed and taxed "at the same time and in the same manner as other property of such corporation" is now, or hereafter shall be assessed and taxed. For the purpose of determining the value of the franchise, the board or assessor shall ascertain "the total value for taxable purposes of the entire

property of such corporation, tangible and intangible, in this state, and shall then assess the tangible property and deduct the amount of such assessment from the total valuation and enter the remainder upon the assessment list or in the assessor's books, under the head of 'all other property.'"

The letter of the promise has thus been fulfilled, but it remains to be seen whether, in their interpretation of the law, the board of equalization will carry out the spirit of the campaign pledge. Their instruction is extremely indefinite, and, with no prescribed method of determining the real value of the franchise, it is only too probable that the board may almost ignore the law. The discretionary powers are so great as to destroy the compulsory character of the statute.

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RELATION OF THE STATE TO MUNICIPALITIES IN RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island was founded upon the principle of individualism, and for this principle it has stood throughout the greater part of its history, colonial and national. Naturally the spirit of local independence has always been strong—so strong that it is even contended by many that the relation of the towns to the state is the same as the relation of the states to the nation. The theory of inherent powers residing in the towns, independent of any incorporation by the state, is maintained with considerable plausibility on the basis of actual historical conditions.

All the more striking, then, is the fact that the Rhode Island legislature is no whit behind the legislatures of other states in the extent to which it arbitrarily interferes in the affairs of the cities. The situation is aggravated by the fact that a strong minority of the house and a strong majority of the senate consist of members from what may properly be called rotten boroughs. According to the constitution of 1842, not since changed in this respect, the senate consists of one senator from each town and city (without any regard to population), and in the house, which is limited to seventy-two members, each town has at least one representative, and no town or city more than one-sixth of the whole number. Providence, with two-fifths of the state's population, has one out of thirty-seven senators, and twelve out of seventy-two representatives. With a large number of back towns having populations of 600 to 3,000, decreasing in many instances, the resulting corruption in politics is easily understood.

The boss in the dominant party has for years been building up political control of these rotten boroughs, until to-day he is master of the legislature. "What he says goes." He acts, not to further

his own political fortunes, but as the agent of a small group of men, who, besides completely controlling the state politically, have during the last ten years obtained by his assistance a practical monopoly of electric traction lines, electric lighting, and bay and harbor transportation in the state.

This control of our legislature is solidly buttressed by the provision of the constitution, which requires a two-thirds vote of each house in two successive legislatures in order to propose an amendment to the constitution. No new and equitable apportionment can be arrived at without the consent of the little towns, and when to their natural reluctance to relinquish power long held are added the exigencies of partisanship, the result is a combination which cannot be overcome.

The legislature is a close corporation, then. In the last decade it has made what is supposed to be an irrevocable contract with the street railroad company whose lines radiate from Providence, giving it a monopoly for twenty years and probably much longer, and limiting to five per cent the rate at which its gross receipts may be taxed by the city. It has changed the time of the city election to coincide with the date of the national election. It has saddled a "Board of Canvassers and Registration" upon the city, for which the latter has to pay and pay well. It has proposed an amendment to the constitution dividing the city into legislative districts for the sake of maintaining partisan control of the city. From the mayor of the neighboring city of Pawtucket it has taken most of his power because he was of the opposite party. During the session which has just adjourned *until after election*, a bill was introduced to saddle a police commission upon Pawtucket, but owing to the unprecedented uprising of a vast majority of the citizens of that city, the bill has been given up for the present. A bill, evidently framed in the interest of the street railway company, was valiantly opposed by a few young members of the house and barely defeated; but within a few days it was brought up in the senate, slightly changed, and passed by both houses in spite of the same valiant opposition. In all but the one instance named, local protests, and they have been strong, have gone for nothing.

Looking at the matter in a general way, it would seem that a distinction must be made between arbitrary interference in local affairs for partisan or monopolistic advantage, and the regulation of matters which, on account of changed conditions, are becoming of general as well as local concern. The former, which is wholly evil, can be remedied by a general awakening of public spirit and increased watchfulness, and more particularly by the improvement of our legislative machinery, through caucus laws, representation which is represen-

tative—*i. e.*, proportional, and a referendum of all-important local measures to the localities themselves. As to the latter, in Rhode Island, where over 85 per cent of the people live in cities and towns of over 8,000, and where four-fifths of their number are within a radius of fifteen miles of the state-house in Providence, the state regulation of many things formerly deemed the exclusive province of the town or city, is bound to come. Were the legislature an actual representation of the people instead of a parody on it, there would be little cause for complaint in this compact little "city state," as it has been aptly styled.

SIDNEY A. SHERMAN.

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MR. CARNEGIE AS ECONOMIST AND SOCIAL REFORMER.

Under title of "The Gospel of Wealth,"¹ is brought together in convenient form, the thought product of a man who has not only proven himself a master in industrial enterprise, but also in close touch with his fellow men. Foreign-born, coming to America as a poor boy with his parents and younger brother, the whole family wage-earners, Mr. Carnegie is a splendid example of the common man, rising from squalor and adversity to the commanding position which honesty, industry and high standards of life make possible under free institutions. It is a commentary on European conditions to read of Czar and Emperor trembling for personal safety, looking upon the common man as a menace to society. Under the freer conditions of America, Australia or Canada this same class, many of them the very ones whose attitude toward society has been considered most dangerous, revolutionists, even criminals, coming to lands where the hold of government is most lax, become strong, useful, patriotic citizens—liberty-loving, but strong in their attachment to law and social order. It is quite as significant to find those who have labored in poverty, whose only shelter had been a shed, and whose reasonable hopes, under European conditions, could never rise above the associations of a thatched roof, becoming the sturdy, substantial men of affairs, or, possessed of uncommon ability, with broader opportunity given, coming to the forefront in the management of industry, commerce, in politics and in learning. Too often do we hear our institutions and our society berated. Too often do we have the narrow view of the man who draws his picture from the constrained horizon of a privileged class or the perverted eccentricity of a weakling. It is most hopeful to find a man, rising from humble station, attaining to success which gives him power superior to that of kings, still announcing a doctrine full of patriotic devotion to the institutions that have been favorable to his

¹ Published by the Century Publishing Company. New York, 1900. Pp. 305.

rise, keenly sympathetic with his fellows and enthusiastic for the amelioration of conditions against which the less fortunate must struggle.

The circumstances out of which Mr. Carnegie has risen give to his expressions on social and economic questions more than common interest. It is the purpose of this review to point out some of the leading principles set forth in this collection of essays.

The premises of Mr. Carnegie's theory of wealth are those generally admitted by those who think seriously about social and economic problems, viz.:

1. That invention, improved industrial equipment, division of labor, increased capitalization, etc., are the means whereby man is able to provide more abundantly for the satisfaction of his wants.

2. That with better industrial equipment and broader co-operation special ability in the management of enterprise is essential.

Conclusion: "A condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted . . . inevitably gives wealth to the few," while the masses have only an increased competence as their reward.

It should be noticed that Mr. Carnegie uses wealth to mean a surplus over and above "moderate sums saved by many years of effort, the returns from which are required for the comfortable maintenance and education of families." This moderate sum is not regarded by him as wealth, "but only competence, which it should be the aim of all to acquire, and which for the best interests of society should be acquired." His theory, therefore, proceeds from the generally recognized fact, that with modern improvements in production there is a large surplus remaining after satisfying the demands of those contributing to the co-operative process. In other words, that the enormous wealth accumulated in the hands of modern industrial and financial managers is the result of gross income increasing faster than the increase in wages and other charges against gross income.

The point of departure is quite the same as that employed by others in their reasoning; the striking feature of Mr. Carnegie's "gospel" is found in his concept of the duties and responsibilities of men of wealth. The second step in his philosophy, if reduced to logical form, would be something as follows:

Wealth is the product of co-operative effort.

The enormous surplus which flows from modern industrial process comes to the few by reason of established principles of social order—principles evolved by society as a basis for harmonious effort, such as the protection of rights of property, the right to individual initiative, the right of incorporation, etc.

Since the millionaire is made by the social order in which he lives, he holds his wealth "in trust" for the benefit of that society.

Mr. Carnegie's theory of disposition of surplus, of duty and responsibility, is based on the idea of trusteeship. The conclusion naturally follows that the aim of a man of wealth should be to administer the surplus in his hands in the interest of social welfare. By so doing, it is his thought, "the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relation."

The whole question of trust responsibility is raised by the question: "*What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of a few?*" Mr. Carnegie sees only three modes in which surplus wealth can be disposed of:

1. It can be left to the families of decedents.
2. It can be bequeathed for public purposes.
3. Or, finally, it can be administered by its possessors during their lives.

Of these, the first is considered the least judicious. He sees nothing but failure in the past—failure from the point of view of the welfare of the family, failure with reference to the welfare of society. For evidence, he points to monarchical countries, where the estates and the greatest portion of the wealth of the ancestor have gone to the first son. This form of bequest is based on the hope that the ancestor's name and title might descend unimpaired to succeeding generations. "The condition of this class in Europe to-day," says Mr. Carnegie, "teaches the failure of such hopes and ambitions. The successors have become impoverished through their follies, or from the fall in the value of land. Even in Great Britain the strict law of entail has been found inadequate to maintain an hereditary class."

Under republican institutions the division of property among children is considered much fairer; but the question which forces itself upon thoughtful men in all lands is: "Why should men leave great fortunes to their children? If this is done from affection, is it not misguided affection? Observation teaches us that, generally speaking, it is not well for the children . . . neither is it well for the state. There are," continues Mr. Carnegie, "instances of millionaires' sons unspoiled by wealth, who, being rich, still perform great services to the community. . . . Unfortunately they are rare. It is not the exception, however, but the rule that men must regard; and looking at the usual result of enormous sums conferred upon legatees, the thoughtful man must shortly say, "I would as soon leave to my son a curse as the almighty dollar, and admit to himself that it is not the welfare of children, but family pride, which inspires these legacies."

The second mode of administration is considered as a half-hearted

way of serving the public. In the first place, the decedent runs the risk of having his will defeated, or the funds misdirected. In the second place, it is to be fairly assumed that he who contributes nothing toward public welfare during his lifetime makes this disposition because his wealth cannot be of any further service to himself; that he would not give it to the public if he could take it with him.

The third mode, that of administering wealth during the lifetime of the possessor, commends itself most favorably. It is in this that is to be found the true antidote for "the temporary unequal distribution of wealth." The effect of such a plan of distribution would be "the reconciliation of the rich and poor"—a reign of harmony . . . Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good. Wealth is thus regarded as "*passing through* the hands of the few" for the benefit of the many; and this by forethought in administration and proper direction given by those accustomed to the management of great estates, to be "a much more potent force for the elevation of the race than if distributed in small sums to the people themselves."

Mr. Carnegie summarizes the duties of the man of wealth as follows:

"To set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so, to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere trustee and agent for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience and ability to administer."

Having established his ideal, the duty of the man of wealth, the most difficult problem follows—the practical method of administering riches in such manner as to conserve social welfare. Here we have the good practical sense of the man most strongly brought out. He announces for his major premise, as before, a well-admitted fact, viz., that *one of the most serious obstacles to the improvement of our race is indiscriminate charity*. To recognize the fact that giving to the beggar on the street, or contributing to the poor in such a way as to encourage a spirit of dependence, degrades them and tends to undermine our whole social strength, is certainly a step in the right direction. If people charitably inclined could be made to realize that, "of every thousand dollars spent in *so-called* charity to-day, it is probable that nine hundred and fifty are unwisely spent—so spent indeed as to produce the very evils which it hopes to mitigate or

cure;" if the man of wealth would but recognize that "it were better for mankind that the millions of the rich were thrown into the sea than so spent as to encourage the slothful, the drunken, the unworthy;" if those in circumstances to give would not look upon their contribution as something to be given away, but as a trust to be carefully and conscientiously administered for social welfare, much progress would be made. The degenerate must finally succumb by reason of his degeneracy. Wealth should not be used to breed a new race of degenerates; rather in such manner as will assist men to become strong, self-reliant, useful members of society. "In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to give to those who desire to rise, the aids by which they may rise."

Among the best uses by which a millionaire can devote the surplus of which he should regard himself as only a "trustee" are the following:

The building up and endowing of institutions of learning; contributions to free libraries; the founding of hospitals, medical colleges, laboratories and other institutions connected with the alleviation of human suffering, and especially with the prevention rather than the cure of human ills; public parks; public halls, and auditoriums for meetings of all kinds; swimming baths and churches. All of these are regarded as proper means for the upbuilding of the race, but even in such benefactions Mr. Carnegie is careful to make the qualification that the means should be granted only on condition that the community will accept and maintain the object as a public institution. He would have not only the individual but the organized community inspired with the idea of self-help, and the wealth of the millionaire esteemed as an aid to higher effort.

Flowing naturally from Mr. Carnegie's trust theory of wealth, he announces his unqualified support of the inheritance tax as "a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion." It is his thought that nations should go much further in this direction. "Indeed," he says, "it is difficult to set bounds to the share of a rich man's estate which should go at his death to the public through the agency of the state, and by all means such taxes should be graduated, beginning at nothing upon moderate sums to dependents and increasing rapidly as the amounts swell, until of the millionaire's hoard as of Shylock's, at least

'To the privy coffer of the state,
The other half comes.'

"This policy would work powerfully to induce the rich man to the administration of wealth during his life, which is the end that society

should always have in view, as being by far the most fruitful for the people."

Writing on the relations of capital and labor, he holds that capital is properly regarded as an instrument of production. The problem of society with reference to capital is that of its highest and best use. Human ability is the second factor. Capital is the means whereby this ability is increased. This highest and best use of these two factors, capital and human ability, is accomplished through broad co-operative enterprise. There must be an organic relation established between the two. It is Mr. Carnegie's belief that the possession of wealth should relieve no man of the duty of devoting his best thought and energy to useful occupation—something that will contribute to human comfort or happiness. In true democratic spirit, the old idea that industry is vulgar is discarded. Perhaps nothing marks Mr. Carnegie as truly American more strongly than this. His great mind revolted at the idea that he who, possessed of the every means of making the struggle of life easier and the victory the more complete, should look for reputation and applause in idle luxury or display. He imbibes the spirit of Mr. Gladstone and President Cleveland. He exults in the victories that the industrial classes have achieved against ideals of caste and privileged class. "The struggle in which labor has been engaged during the past three hundred years, first against authority and then against capital, has been a triumphal march. Victory after victory has been achieved. . . . Even as late as the beginning of this (the nineteenth) century, the position of the laborer in some departments was such as can scarcely be credited . . . down to 1779 the miners of Britain were in a state of serfdom. They were compelled to remain in pits as long as the owners chose to keep them or work them, and were actually sold as part of the capital invested in the works. If they accepted an engagement elsewhere, their master could always have them fetched back and flogged as thieves for having attempted to rob him of their labor.

"Consider the change, nay, the revolution. Now the poorest laborer in America or in England, or indeed throughout the civilized world, who can handle a pick or a shovel, stands upon equal terms with the purchaser of his labor. . . . Not only has the laborer conquered his political and personal freedom; he has achieved industrial freedom, as well, as far as the law can give it. And he now fronts his master proclaiming himself his equal before the law."

Speaking of the English reform law of 1885, Mr. Carnegie, with feelings of pride, remarks: "For the first time in their history the majority of the people have power. Henceforth England is democratic. Cajoled, overruled, thwarted for generations by the aristocratic

classes, who have doled out to them from time to time only such small measures of reform as were necessary to prevent revolution, the people have never been fully heard. A climax, however, was reached last session, when an act was forced upon the House of Lords, which at once transferred power from the privileged few to the masses."

Equal before the law! Industrial freedom as far as the law can give! But Mr. Carnegie would not stop here. He recognizes that the justice of labor's claim may not be secure so long as superior forces are arrayed against it. He, therefore, would have this freedom established and enforced through higher education and labor organization. "Education is everywhere a sure destroyer of privilege." "I attribute the greatest importance to an organization of the men, through whose duly-elected representatives its managers may be kept informed from time to time of their grievances and suggestions." Mr. Carnegie considers labor organizations as essential to labor rights—essential to peaceful co-operation between capital and labor. The methods suggested as a means to better adjustment of the relations of capital and labor are as follows:

1. A co-operative arrangement by which the workers may become part owners—profit sharers.
2. Compensation based on a sliding scale of prices.
3. Conferences between representatives of organized labor and industrial managers.
4. Peaceful arbitration in all cases where differences cannot be settled by representatives.

As to the organization of capital Mr. Carnegie concludes "that this overpowering, irresistible tendency toward aggregation of capital and increase of size in every branch of product cannot be arrested or greatly impeded; and that instead of attempting to restrict either we should laud every increase as something gained—not for the few rich, but for the millions of poor. . . . Every enlargement is an improvement, step by step, upon what preceded. It makes for higher civilization, for the enrichment of human life. Not for one, but for all classes of men."

This in a nut-shell sums up his views as to the organization of capital and industry. But he cannot see any wholesome result coming from the modern "trust;" this appears to him as misdirected effort. He sees no peril to industrial progress in the trust, only ruin for the promoters and financial managers. To use his language, "every attempt to monopolize the manufacture of any staple article carries within its bosom the seeds of failure. Upon most of them can already be written the appropriate epitaph:

"If I was so soon to be done for,
I wonder what I was begun for."

University of Pennsylvania.

FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY.

*Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, April 12th
and 13th, 1901.*

AMERICA'S RACE PROBLEMS.

The fifth annual meeting proved to be the best attended and most successful the Academy has yet held. The timeliness of the topics discussed and the exceptionally even and high standard of excellence of the papers presented throughout the meeting called forth many words of praise from those present, and were reflected in the newspaper comments upon the various sessions.

The meeting was called to order by the President, in the Assembly Room of the Manufacturers' Club, on Friday afternoon, at 3 o'clock. Dr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, was introduced as the presiding officer. He spoke briefly upon the topic of the session, namely, The Races of the Pacific, and upon the particular qualifications of the speakers announced on the program. He then introduced Dr. Titus Munson Coan, of New York City, who gave an address upon the Natives of Hawaii. Dr. Coan is the son of a missionary to Hawaii, and was himself born on the island and resided there for over nineteen years. He spoke most entertainingly of the personal impressions of a native-born, of the characteristics of the people and of their habits and customs. He dwelt at some length upon the Polynesian checks to population practiced in the Hawaiian Islands as in other sections of Polynesia.

Following Dr. Coan the Rev. Charles C. Pierce, D. D., United States Army Chaplain, now stationed at Fort Meyer, Virginia, who has recently returned from over two years of service in the Philippines, spoke upon the Tagals, giving a very vivid picture of these people in their relation to the other tribes in the Philippine Islands. He emphasized especially the fact that the Tagal is an alien in the Philippines and that his influence and capabilities are much overrated. One incident of this session which is deserving of mention, occurred in the discussion following these papers when Rev. Dr. Charles Colman, of Philadelphia, bore witness to the efficiency of Chaplain Pierce's services in the Philippines. Dr. Colman said that he had two sons in the war, of whom one died in Cuba while the other returned from the Philippine Islands a physical wreck. Speaking of the latter he said, "In those long and weary days which followed his homecoming, he often talked with me of the brave deeds of his companions

in the tropical campaign and of his experiences in the hospital after he was stricken with disease. But, sir, there was one man about whom he frequently spoke—one whom he held in highest regard and esteem. He has told me of his unfaltering courage and of his unshaken faith, of the comfort which he brought and of the cheering words he spoke to the sick and lonely, of his loving ministrations to the dying and of the patience and persistence with which he attended the affairs of the dead; no soldier passed on his way from those foreign shores to await the final reveille whose body was not taken in charge by this all-powerful man, and there is no case on record of an unidentified body within the province of his duties." Dr. Colman further declared that he did not know Dr. Pierce, but was very glad to have this opportunity of publicly expressing his appreciation of the man. The incident produced a marked impression upon the meeting and, along with other expressions of admiration for Dr. Pierce's work, lent peculiar interest to what he had to say.

A paper by Rev. Oliver C. Miller, D. D., Chaplain of the United States Army, upon the Semi-civilized People in the Philippines, was read by title. Dr. Miller is now stationed at the Presidio, San Francisco, and his paper had not arrived at the time of the meeting, but it will doubtless be printed in the proceedings.

The second session was called to order by the President of the Academy at the New Century Drawing Room, on Friday evening, at 8 o'clock. The President reviewed the work of the Academy during the year since the last annual meeting, calling attention to the large demand for a wide circulation of the Academy's publications during the year, and especially of the volume on "Corporations," containing the addresses at the last annual meeting. He also described the encouraging growth of the Academy in numbers and influence, and showed how, through the publications, work done by the Academy at its local meetings, was extended throughout the country. The need of a larger measure of co-operation among the members of the Academy, in securing the facilities for making its work permanent, and the peculiar responsibility resting upon an organization of this character, when public education on social and economic questions is so imperative, was emphasized. Professor Lindsay then introduced, as the orator of the evening, Professor Edward A. Ross, of Nebraska University, who delivered the annual address. The subject which Professor Ross treated ably in the course of an hour's address was "The Causes of Race Superiority." Following the annual address an informal reception was held, at which the members and their friends and invited guests were given an opportunity to meet the speakers of the evening.

On Saturday morning, April 13, many of the out-of-town visitors assembled by invitation at 9:30 at the Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, where they were received by the Curator, Dr. Stewart Culin, who personally conducted the party and described the valuable collections of the Museum. In the Assyrian department Dr. Clay, who is associated with Professor Hilprecht, gave a very interesting explanation of the tablets recently excavated at Nippur and constituting the earliest record of civilization which has yet been found. Another party gathered at the Philadelphia Commercial Museum at 10:30, where Mr. Tingle, one of the officers of the Museum, was in waiting. After a brief address on the consular service of the United States, he conducted the party through the Museum and explained the large and valuable collections of industrial products from all over the world, which the Museum has collected.

On both days a large number of members and guests gathered for luncheon at the Manufacturers' Club, which extended to the Academy throughout the meeting the freedom of its club house, as did also the Art Club of Philadelphia and other social organizations.

The third session was called to order at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon, and Colonel Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, ex-Secretary of the Navy, was introduced as the presiding officer, the topic of the session being "The Race Problem at the South." Colonel Herbert gave an eloquent address presenting a typical Southern white man's view of the relations of the whites to the negroes. He then introduced President George T. Winston, of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, who addressed the meeting on the same topic. During the course of his remarks President Winston pictured the conditions existing before the war and claimed that the social relations between whites and negroes at that time were far superior to those at present, and that of late the races had been drifting apart rather than coming together.

The third and last address at this session was given by Professor W. E. Burghardt DuBois, of Atlanta University, who analyzed with peculiar calmness and ability the "Relation of the Negroes to the Whites." By many present this address was regarded as the feature of the whole program. A paper by President Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee, upon the same topic, was read by title, and will be printed in the proceedings.

A peculiar interest centered in the closing session, at which Senator Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut, chairman of the Senate Committee on Relations with Cuba, and author of the Platt amendment which was then under discussion in the Cuban Constitutional Convention—reports of which seemed to indicate that it had been rejected—ad-

dressed the Academy on "Our Relations to the People of Cuba and Porto Rico." Also at this session Mr. Charles M. Pepper, author and journalist, who has recently been appointed as one of the delegates of the United States government to the Pan-American Congress which will assemble in the city of Mexico in October, gave an address on "The Spanish Population of Cuba and Porto Rico." Both of these addresses were listened to by a large and attentive audience. At the conclusion of the meeting, on Saturday evening, the Manufacturers' Club gave a reception to the speakers at the annual meeting and other invited guests, among whom were many of the members of the Academy.

Verbatim reports of all the addresses and discussions will be collected in the volume of proceedings of the meeting, which will be published as the July number of the ANNALS and sent to members of the Academy. This will also be issued as a separate volume and may be ordered through the book trade, bound either in paper or in cloth : paper bound copies will be furnished at \$1, cloth bound copies at \$1.50. Orders may also be sent to the office of the Academy, Station B, Philadelphia. Members of the Academy can render good service by bringing this volume to the attention of their friends.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

THE CHURCH AND POPULAR EDUCATION is the title of an interesting monograph (Johns Hopkins University Studies)¹ by Professor H. B. Adams. It is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather suggestive of the great possibilities of development in this now recognized part of church work. The Church and the School are the two great social institutions of the community and were each better acquainted with the function and work of the other more substantial progress could be made. One of the greatest needs of to-day is the more intelligent correlation of the social forces in the community, and this can be best inaugurated by church and school becoming intelligently appreciative of each other's work.²

THE PUBLISHERS CLAIM for "American Engineering Competition"³ that it is a book which "every business man should read." This advice can be repeated with even greater pertinency to every student of industrial conditions in the United States. The book consists of a compilation of sixteen letters descriptive of American methods in the iron and steel industry, written for the London *Times* by a special correspondent.

The ulterior object of the writer is to set forth the points of superiority in American industrial methods, and he has taken the best possible way to accomplish this end. He says little or nothing about English methods, with which he presumes that his English readers are reasonably familiar, but goes minutely and carefully into an elaborate description of American practice in the iron, steel and engineering trades. The general subjects treated: are the mining, transportation and smelting of ore; the manufacture of steel by the Bessemer and Open Hearth processes, and the manufacture of structural steel, engines, machine tools, malleable castings and implements. The early chapters give a very adequate popular description of the iron and steel industry down to the steel billet. This it is possible to do on account of the simplicity of the operations involved, without departing from the writer's purpose to set forth the essential points of

¹ Series XVIII, Nos. 8 and 9. Pp. 84.

² Contributed by Geo. H. Locke.

³ *American Engineering Competition*. Being a series of articles resulting from an investigation made by "The Times," London. Pp. viii, 139. Price, \$1.00. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1901.

American superiority. The author is particularly impressed by the large and increasing use of machinery in the United States and the decreasing importance of manual labor. It is this fact, together with the readiness of the American manufacturer to spend money for improvements and his open-mindedness to all new ideas that have especially impressed the correspondent. Chapter XIV contains a general discussion of American advantages in transportation in particular the superiority of our street-railway service, and Chapters XV and XVI present numerous illustrations of the hindrances to British trade which are presented by the attitude of English trade-unions, a comparison with American freedom from this disability being inferentially made.

MR. WILLIAM RAYMOND BAIRD'S two-volume work, "Principles of American Law," may be said to have an ancillary use.¹ Mr. Baird's effort is directed toward reaching the demands of those who have not the opportunities for law-school training. In fifty-two lectures he presents the principles underlying nearly every legal relation. The work is well adapted to the "home student." While a course of this kind would not have the depth of bearing of one given under personal instruction, by earnestness of application the student is often enabled to overcome this disadvantage. The Correspondence School has a deserving place in our educational system.

"THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION,"² by Mr. C. Beard, with preface by Professor York Powell, of Oxford, gives to the laborer, in book of pocket size, information and ideas well worthy of his consideration. In fact it is a work full of suggestion to the mature student of history as well. The topics discussed are the following: England in 1760; The Mechanical Revolution and its Economic Effects; the Breaking up of the Old Order; Revolt against Laissez Faire and Beginning of Organization; The Industrial Problem from the Standpoint of Mechanics and Social Needs.

M. VICTOR BÉRARD'S vigorous and sincere books concerning Turkey and Greece have given him an unquestionable right to be heard on problems of international policy. His new work³ on the growth and economic causes of English "imperialism" will

¹ Pp. Vol. I, 475, Vol. II, 376. Price, \$3.00. Springfield, Mass.: Home Correspondence School, 1900.

² Pp. 105. Price, 40 cents. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.)

³ *L'Angleterre et l'Impérialisme*. By VICTOR BÉRARD. Pp. vi, 381. Price, 4*f*. Paris: Colin, 1900.

therefore be widely read. The causes which have transformed the England of Gladstone into the England of Joseph Chamberlain, and given rise to the predominance of a "Greater Britain" policy, are carefully investigated and traced in their development. Sir Charles Dilke's dream of thirty years ago has become the ambition of the nation; imperialism has its poets, its historians and its statesmen (Kipling, Seeley, Froude, Chamberlain).

In the final paragraph of his book M. Bérard in a rhetorical peroration, such as delights his countrymen, declares that "the England of 1830 has perhaps given all that England could give. Surveying the commercial, as well as the political, literary and artistic history of the last four or five centuries from an elevated point of view, it would seem that every human community, fashioned by the thousand outer and inner influences of race, temperament, environment and, above all, education, sooner or later produces a sum of qualities which, favored by circumstances and the state of foreign countries, blossom forth and give a leading position to Spain, or France, or England, or Germany. Later, when these circumstances change or disappear, this or that fundamental quality becomes a radical defect. Spanish absolutism, which extended its Catholic royalty over all the Peninsula, then to two-thirds of Christian Europe and to two-thirds of America, suddenly disappeared with the Armada, in the glow of inquisition fires and under the stultifying discipline of monks. French despotism takes its place. By the power of the Bourbon sceptre and Cartesian philosophy it extends its political, intellectual and commercial dominion throughout almost all Europe; and then suddenly succumbs, after the military conquest of Europe, in the prodigious rise of Napoleonic authority. English empiricism then succeeds to its position, and little by little transforms the United Kingdom and the two halves of the earth; everything bows before its triumph; the nations of the universe, dazzled by sixty years of a reign without reverses, glorify the invincible superiority of Anglo-Saxon strength. . . . Then a band, with bullets and stones, demolish this royal apotheosis. And from a new direction, humanity perceives the advent of a new grandeur. In a century of labor and of study, German rationalism has germed, grown and spread forth its branches, and at the end of each branch we now behold its fruits appearing. British supremacy may patch the rents in its imperial garment and for a moment still impress us. But humanity has lost confidence, and turns aside from this fallen glory. To the sound of cannons and of trumpets, in hymns and in toasts, the Germany of Kant, of Bismarck and of Wagner, rational Germany, powerful and creative, salutes the new century."¹

¹ Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Philadelphia.

"CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE,"¹ as the author says, "is in effect a new book with a changed name." It is concerned almost wholly with the ceremony of marriage. It is an exposition of the ritual of the Protestant Episcopal Church, or the "American Church," as he calls it, which is given in full together with the rituals of the English, the Roman Catholic, the Greek and Jewish churches. These take up more than half the book. Ten short chapters treat of the connection of the ceremony with religion; general characteristics and changes of the accepted form; analysis of the ceremony; the idea of publicity; of the symbols, or silent ceremony; of the audible stipulations and vows, and so on. A great deal of archeological and ecclesiastical lore is brought out, making a useful compendium on its specific subject.

The defects of the book are in the limitations which an ecclesiastical position of the strictest kind imposes upon the writer. While not forgetful of the threefold aspect of marriage as related to nature, the state and the church, the author does not appear able to see either the sociological or political aspects of the subject—at least, not in the way of one trained in either of these sciences. Take a marked example. Of Woolsey's "Divorce and Divorce Legislation" he says: "I read his pages with every favoring prejudice. The result was twofold. First I felt an inexpressible disgust for the loathsome stuff raked together from every cranny, etc. . . . Then came over me the indelible wonder what result beyond the gratification of a prurient curiosity—what real good . . . a Christian man could imagine would accrue to Christian people, in their hearts or lives, from reading that unholy history." Yet Dr. Bingham considers the right of the state alone, "if she will, to use that dreadful word"—Divorce. For broader, many will say juster, views readers will turn to the fresher chapters in recent books, by Professor Shailer Mathews on the "Social Teaching of Jesus," and Professor F. G. Peabody on "Jesus and the Social Question."²

THE NEW EDITION of Böhm-Bawerk's critical history of the theories of economic interest,³ undoubtedly the best book we have on the subject, is a somewhat changed and considerably enlarged volume. The changes are confined to a few improvements in the literary expression of the author's thought and the correction of a few

¹ *Christian Marriage: The Ceremony, History and Significance, etc.* By the Rev. J. FOOTE BINGHAM, D. D., Litt. D. Pp. 341. Price, \$2.00. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

² Contributed by Rev. Samuel W. Dike.

³ *Capital und Capitalzins. I Abth.: Geschichte und Kritik der Capitalzinstheorien.* By E. VON BÖHM-BAWERK. Second Edition. Pp. xxxv, 702. Price, 14 m. Innsbruck, Verlag der Wagnerschen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1900.

errors. The additions, however, have increased the size of the book by more than one third. In the first place, the account given of older authors is made more complete. The most important new feature of this sort concerns the Canadian, John Rae. On the other hand the first edition published in 1884, had to be brought up to date. The study of the interest problem has occupied so many writers during the past fifteen years that even a general survey of their work involved a serious increase in the size of the book. These newer doctrines are discussed in an appendix covering nearly a hundred pages, and treating at some length of Marshall's, Macvane's and Carver's "abstinence" theories, of Stolzmann's "labor" theory and of Dietzel's "exploitation" theory. Though the final volumes of Karl Marx's "Capital" were published since the appearance of Böhm-Bawerk's first edition, the discussion of the socialistic economist's complete doctrine is not given in the appendix, but in the body of the book under the head of "exploitation" theories. The corresponding chapter has therefore undergone a serious augmentation, especially the sub-section devoted to Böhm-Bawerk's criticism of Marx and his disciples.

In his preface, the eminent Austrian economist replies to the objections which General Francis Walker and Professor Alfred Marshall have made to his treatment of his predecessors. Though one of the ostensible points of difference between these two authors and Böhm-Bawerk lies in their opinion that his critique depended upon blunders of expression and not upon a generous interpretation of the opinion of the writers discussed in his "History and Critique," the real, fundamental question, says Böhm-Bawerk, is this: Have Marshall and Walker, or has he (the author) the correct idea of the essential nature of the problem of interest and its true solution?

Beside the appendix the most important addition to the book is contained in the fifty pages treating of John Rae, concerning whom Mixer has asserted that he "anticipated Böhm-Bawerk's theory of interest, in the substance of its leading features and in many of its details, and even to a great extent in the exact form of its expression. He did more; he expanded that theory on some sides in which it was lacking, he avoided its greatest errors." It will be remembered that Böhm-Bawerk attaches fundamental importance, in the explanation of interest, to the influence of *time* upon our estimation of the value of goods,—the fact that postponed consumption involves a remuneration for postponement. In this point he acknowledges Rae's priority. But Böhm-Bawerk coördinates with this psychological moment facts concerning progress in the technique of production which give present goods a higher value than future goods because they permit

us to engage in more roundabout, longer, though technically more remunerative methods of production. It is in the development of this half of the theory that Böhm-Bawerk claims to differ from Rae; in this half of his doctrine, and in spite of many original details, Rae is a partisan of the old "productiveness" theory, like Thünen, whom indeed he closely resembles in the nature of his doctrine, in his trend of thought and in the striking independence of his reasoning uninfluenced by contemporaneous literature.¹

SIR JOHN BOURINOT'S works on Canada have long been standards not only in their literary style and attractiveness, but in the substantial qualities of accuracy and breadth of view which they possess. The latest contribution from his pen is "Canada Under British Rule."² After an introductory chapter on the French Régime, there follows a summary of the beginnings of British rule down to the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774 and the foundation of Nova Scotia. This is largely taken up with a discussion of the early relations between the French and English after the conquest. Interesting chapters on the American Revolution in its relations to Canada and on the early development of representative institutions bring the narrative down to the war of 1812, which is discussed in Chapter V. The periods of rebellion in Lower and Upper Canada are taken up in detail and a *résumé* of social and economic conditions in 1838 is given. The most interesting and valuable part of the book is that which deals with the union of the Upper and Lower Provinces and the establishment of responsible government after Lord Durham's celebrated report. The history of the repeated struggles for responsible government, the dullness and even stupidity of British governors and secretaries of state, show how costly is the present structure of English colonial government and how prone are the home authorities to ignore or misunderstand colonial conditions.

Two chapters are devoted to a separate treatment of the growth of federation. An excellent statement of the present social and political conditions of Canada is included. A separate chapter is also devoted to Canada's increasingly important relations with the United States. The appendices contain a highly interesting comparison between the federal constitutions of Canada and Australia, also valuable bibliographical notes. There are several maps.

The author displays throughout a clear understanding of the relative importance attaching to the conflicting forces in Canadian politics,

¹ Contributed by C. W. A. Veditz, Ph. D.

² Cambridge Historical Series. Pp. 346. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900.

and the only portions of the work which seem incomplete or faulty are those dealing with the economic development of Canada.

M. BOUTMY'S NEW BOOK,¹ the fruit of long familiarity with Englishmen and English affairs, is a timely contribution to the study of English political life. The author's method of investigation is extremely thorough and careful, and is first applied to the determination of the influence of physical environment on the character of the race; he finds the manifestations of this influence in many of the various tendencies of the people. After the physical environment comes the human environment, and the traces left by invading foreign races, as well as the importance of ethnical phenomena which take place within the country. Finally, after having considered successively the moral and social traits of the people, their political ideas, the book terminates with some ingenious observations upon the relation between the two great factors of English life—the individual and the state.

"In spite of the enormous changes of character which have taken place in a century," declares M. Boutmy, "the English people has remained, and always will remain, very individualistic; very little capable of sympathy and caring very little for that of others; very proud even in the humility of intense devoutness; very disdainful of other races and undisposed to mix with them; incapable of understanding the solidarity of the civilized world; apt to divide great questions—even to split them up—and indifferent to the idea of uniting them in the harmony of a vast synthesis; employing logic rather for a *posteriori* justification than to discover new horizons; more inclined to follow the metamorphoses of an illustrious statesman than to attach themselves to strict principles which would condemn him; free from all revolutionary spirit and nevertheless fertile in original personalities."²

THE DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN POLITICS³ is a serviceable handbook, containing information which can be found elsewhere only in out-of-the-way places. In addition to the usual historical material relating to famous measures, national movements, foreign relations and the rise and fall of parties, there are given accounts of the origin and meaning of political slang expressions, familiar names of persons and localities, famous phrases and the like. As a rule, material relat-

¹ *Essai d'une Psychologie politique du peuple Anglais au XIX^e siècle*. By M. ÉMILE BOUTMY. Pp. viii, 455. Price, 4 fr. Paris: Colin, 1901.

² Contributed by C. W. A. Veditz, Ph. D.

³ *Dictionary of American Politics*. By EVERET BROWN and ALBERT STRAUS. Pp. 596. Price, \$1.00. New York: A. L. Burt, 1900.

ing to the two last campaigns has not been included, the work not having been thoroughly revised since 1892.

PROFESSOR BULLOCK'S "Essays on the Monetary History of the United States," are three in number and of unequal length. The first which comprises about one-half the book is entitled "Three Centuries of Cheap Money in the United States," while the other essays treat of the paper currencies of North Carolina and New Hampshire. These last are excellent bits of historical research, and deal with colonies the vagaries of whose paper issues have not heretofore received the special attention of historians. Excellent as they are, with a remarkable fullness of footnotes, which betrays the exact methods of a conscientious scholar, they offer little which calls for notice here, since in the mass of historic detail it is not so much the facts as the spirit of their interpretation which arrests the attention of the general reader.

It is the thesis of the preface and of the first essay which calls for especial mention. Professor Bullock sketches our monetary history in the light of the demand for cheap money. From the first landing of the colonists in the western world to the present day this demand has always been present. Overpowered and restrained at times, or, perhaps, Professor Bullock would say outgrown in certain sections it has appeared in new forms and in new regions. The colonial issues, the continental paper money, the unregulated issues of the state banks, the greenbacks of the civil war, and the demand for the coinage of silver are the successive manifestations of the same spirit. These are rapidly sketched in Professor Bullock's essay. The explanation of this constant feature of our monetary history the author finds in the necessities of new and frontier communities where capital is scarce. As early as the colonial times it has been generally those regions where population was small and wealth scarce, which have pressed for these various forms of cheap money. With the progress of the century the focus of agitation has moved westward. With the growth of wealth and population it may reasonably be expected that this form of monetary heresy will gradually die out.

With this general thesis those who are familiar with the monetary history of the United States will fully agree and they must admire the skill with which it has been sustained. Should this preliminary sketch lead Professor Bullock to an extended treatment of the monetary history of the United States, the literature of economic history would be enriched, for the author has successfully correlated the

¹ *Essays on the Monetary History of the United States*. By CHARLES J. BULLOCK. Pp. 292. Price, \$1.25. New York: Macmillan, 1900.

general aspects of our economic development with the story of our monetary vicissitudes.¹

MR. HENRY CLEWS' "The Wall Street Point of View"² gives a rambling discussion of topics of financial and monetary interest. While there is little in it that is new, the fact that the author is a man of affairs gives to the work an interest that makes it well worth reading.

IN THE GUISE of a little volume of "Notes de Voyage"³ through Belgium, M. Edouard Deiss gives the reader a comprehensive, vivid idea of the industrial condition of that little kingdom. The most interesting parts of the book are those which give an account of co-operative societies—especially the "Vooruit,"—of profit-sharing, popular banks, labor colonies, and higher education in Belgium.

AN INTERESTING THOUGH unsystematic study of the influence of racial ideas and tendencies on modern political, economic, religious and æsthetic life, is begun in a recent book⁴ on the influence of the Celts in the modern European mixture of races. It is the first of a series of five volumes promised by the author, who accepts the principle laid down by Ernst Curtius, that every race is incapable of producing, unaided and alone, a higher civilization, and requires fructifying contact with other races. Aside, however, from the knotty problem of defining "race" satisfactorily, the task of unraveling race influences and race characteristics is so arduous that most work of this sort must be considered rather in the light of suggestion and hypothesis than as a positive contribution to anthropology or sociology.

BY FAR THE BEST general treatise on the "Law of Combinations," extant is that recently published by Callaghan & Co., of Chicago.⁵ Mr. Eddy, in two volumes, covers the field in both English and American law. Beginning with the law of monopoly, he carries the reader through the various phases of development, adhering to the historic

¹ Contributed by Roland P. Falkner.

² Pp. 290. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1900.

³ *Etudes sociales et industrielles sur la Belgique. (Notes de Voyage.)* By EDOUARD DEISS. Pp. 328. Price 3 fr. 50. Paris: Guillaumin, 1900.

⁴ *Das Keltentum in der Europäischen Blutmischung. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Rasseninstinkte.* By HEINRICH DRIESMANS. Pp. 248. Price, 4 m. Leipzig: Dietrichs, 1900.

⁵ By ARTHUR J. EDDY, Esq. 2 vols. Pp. 1,539. Price, \$12.00.

order as far as compatible with topical treatment. The principal subjects discussed are: Monopolies; Efforts to Control the Market; Combinations and Conspiracies; Combinations of Labor; Illegal Combinations of Capital; Combinations in Restraint of Trade; The Federal Anti-Trust Law; and State Anti-Trust Laws. What the author suggests as a possible fault in method—that of giving laws and decisions “somewhat in detail”—adds materially to the value of a work on a subject which does not allow of a concise statement of settled principles.

LINCOLNIANA HAS had three notable additions. Mr. Daniel Fish, Secretary of the Public Library Board of Minneapolis, Minnesota, has recently brought out a 135-page bibliographical account of books and pamphlets relating to Abraham Lincoln, under the title “Lincoln Literature.”¹ This is the most complete and reliable compilation of the kind extant. It will be invaluable to librarians and special students. “Abraham Lincoln: his Book,”² is a facsimile reproduction of Mr. Lincoln’s pocket memorandum carried during the campaign of 1858. It claims for itself the novel distinction of being the only book which was the direct product of Mr. Lincoln’s pen. Aside from antiquarian interest, it serves to throw light on the character and methods of its illustrious author. In the “What is Worth While Series”³ appears Hon. Joseph H. Choate’s November address before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. Being asked to deliver the inaugural address as the official representative of America, he chose the character of Abraham Lincoln as the “most American of all Americans.” It is a strong portrayal of a strong man. It is an inspiring tribute both to Lincoln and to America.

THE AUTHOR OF “The History of Minnesota,”⁴ who modestly signs himself Judge Flandrau, has produced a form of historic information similar to that commonly found about the camp-fires of a G. A. R. Reunion. It is personal reminiscence, with a very strong emphasis thrown on the personal. It is the literary product of the hero worshiper, the hero being an old friend and acquaintance of the writer.

PROFESSOR FOLKMAR’S recent book⁵ is in the main an attempt to

¹ Price, \$3.25. Published by the Board, Minneapolis, 1900.

² Price, \$1.00. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1901.

³ Pp. 38. Price, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1901.

⁴ By C. E. FLANDRAU. Pp. viii, 408. Price, \$1.75. St. Paul: E. W. Porter.

⁵ *Leçons d'Anthropologie Philosophique. Ses applications à la morale positive.* By DANIEL FOLKMAR. Pp. xiv, 336. Price, 7 fr. 50. Paris, (Schleicher frères Bibliothèque des Sciences Sociologiques), 1900.

base ethics, as a science of provision and of human conduct, on sociology. An outline of its contents is contained in the department of Theoretical Sociology, in the present number of the *ANNALS*.

HENRY GEORGE, JR., has edited another volume of his father's works, under the title "Our Land and Land Policy."¹ The volume takes its title from the first essay contained. This essay was written in 1871, while Mr. George was still a newspaper correspondent. It is the precursor of his many other writings on social and economic subjects. A list of the other essays contained in the book is as follows: The Study of Political Economy; The American Republic; The Crime of Poverty; Land and Taxation; "Thou Shalt Not Steal;" To Workmen; "Thy Kingdom Come;" Justice the Object—Taxation the Means; Causes of Business Depression; and Peace by Standing Army. To those interested either in the historic development of Mr. George's thought, or in his final statements, the collection will be welcomed.

THE OFFICIAL catalogue of the German exhibit at the Paris Exposition² gives an excellent, readable account of the remarkable, one might almost say startling industrial and commercial progress of the Empire during the past decade. This catalogue, in its preface and in the introductory sketches of each section, gives the latest and most authentic information concerning the development and the present state of the various German trades and industries; it is therefore a hand-book which will have permanent value.

THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL progress of the Empire has been accompanied by the growth of political ambition and a movement in favor of a stronger navy. A recent law providing for the formidable augmentation of the German navy, when it was presented to the Reichstag, served as a signal for the publication of numerous pamphlets and volumes, urging all sorts of arguments for the passage of the proposed law. Most of these propagandist publications are due to specialists in economics and history, and present the problem in every conceivable manner and from every point of view.

The first of these brochures,³ from the pen of Dr. A. von Wenckstern, develops the argument that although present commercial relations between Europe, America and China are minimal, each succeed-

¹ Pp. 345. Price, \$2.50. New York: Doubleday & McClure, 1901.

² *International Exposition, Paris, 1900. Official Catalogue. Exposition of the German Empire.* Pp. 424. Published by the IMPERIAL COMMISSION. Berlin: 1900. (Stargardt).

³ *A. von Wenckstern, 1 pro cent. Die Schaffung und Erhaltung einer deutschen Schlachtflotte.* Pp. 65. Price, 1 m. 40. Leipzig: Duncker und Humboldt, 1899.

ing year increases these relations, under the pressure of industrial growth. There will consequently be an increasing antagonism in the interests and ambitions of the great Powers. With each decade the relations of inter-dependence between nations increase in number and importance. Germany, too, by the increased importation of raw materials and food products, by the growing quantity of German capital invested abroad, by the extension of its foreign markets for manufactured wares, shares in these relations. No nation, however, can continue to occupy a commanding economic position unless it possesses the power, in case of need, to defend that position by the application of force. The very existence of Germany depends upon the maintenance of an open sea road; its growth of commerce must be accompanied by an equipment prepared to defend German commerce on the seas and German capital or labor employed in distant countries. Germany's present development requires a strong navy to guarantee its permanency and to maintain peace. From a financial point of view, Dr. von Wenckstern declares, no country is better able to support the new burden than Germany; it would be an easy matter to produce the 1,700 million marks necessary for the construction of a new offensive navy, besides the millions necessary for the maintenance of a total naval force of fifty-seven battle-ships, fifteen large cruisers and thirty-six small cruisers; an increase of one per cent in the imperial revenues would suffice.

Two other brochures^{1 2} develop the same line of thought, being made up of speeches delivered by the author in various parts of Germany. There is consequently a frequent repetition of the same arguments, buried under a thick coating of vain rhetoric and the fatuous display of linguistic and poetic accomplishments. Germany stands next to England in the annual value of its commercial transactions—exports and imports. The importation of raw materials is one of the essential conditions for the existence of two-thirds of German industries, of which eight alone possess 1,622,236 factories or workshops, employing 4,671,589 laborers; the families of these laborers form a population of 11,192,152, or 60 per cent of the industrial population of Germany, and more than one-fifth of the total imperial population. Germany is no longer an agricultural State, but is dependent upon other countries for its food-supply. The empire must become strong enough upon the seas to defend an international commerce upon which so much depends.

¹ *A. von Wenckstern, Heimatpolitik durch Weltpolitik. Reden zur Flottenvorlage, 1900.* Pp. 130. Price, 2 m. Leipzig: Duncker und Humboldt, 1900.

² *A. von Wenckstern, Auf Scholle und Welle. Reden zur Flottenvorlage.* Pp. 81. Price, 1 m. 40. Leipzig: Duncker und Humboldt, 1900.

The two little volumes¹ of speeches and essays edited by three well-known Berlin professors of economics,—Schmoller, Sering and Wagner, are excellent both in style and contents. In the first speech, Prof. Schmoller discusses the probable future development of German commerce, industry and above all, population. He concludes that the development of these factors requires new markets and new openings abroad; and that a strong navy is an imperative corollary. An interesting survey of the intimate relation between the spread of commerce, on the one hand, and the breadth of the intellectual horizon of a people, on the other hand is contained in the second article, from the pen of Professor Lamprecht. The next section, a speech by Professor Richard Ehrenberg, traces the influence of ocean commerce on political ideas. Dr. Ernest Francke attempts to show that the laboring classes should be interested in the development of foreign trade. Dr. Paul Voigt, in an essay full of interesting statistical material discusses the industrial development of the German Empire, and points out that while a century ago two-thirds of the population was engaged in agriculture, now only one-third is employed in this branch of production. In the second volume, Sering, Wagner, von Halle, and Schumacher treat respectively of the commercial policy of the great nations, the financial aspect of the proposed law, the development of German local navigation, and Germany's interests in China.

THOUGH MANY excellent educational *ideas* have come from France, the fidelity to routine and pedagogical conservatism found in the French primary and secondary schools is so deep-rooted and persistent, that so striking a novelty, as the "Orphélinat de Cempuis" practically seems to stand alone in the history of recent educational experiments in France. No wonder that its directors were subjected to fierce vituperation, and its methods to malicious ridicule. An explanation of the ideas underlying the school, and a careful account of its actual workings, are contained in a recent, well-documented volume,² by M. Gabriel Giroud. The book is well worth the attention of those interested in pedagogy and the sociological bearing of educational problems.

The Cempuis school was organized as a public institution in 1880, under the direction of M. Paul Robin, certainly one of the most emi-

¹ *Handels- und Machtpolitik*. Reden und Aufsätze von Schmoller, Sering, Wagner, etc. 2 Bde. Band i, pp. vi, 208. Price, 1 m. Band ii, pp. 246. Price, 1 m. 20. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1900.

² *Cempuis. Education intégrale. Coéducation des sexes*. Par GABRIEL GIROUD. Pp. xx, 395. Price, 10 fr. Paris, (Schleicher frères. Bibliothèque internationale des Sciences Sociologiques), 1900.

nent French pedagogues, although the radical nature and uncompromising expression of his views have made him many enemies. The central idea of M. Robin's system of "integral instruction" favors the development and equilibrium of all the faculties without exception. In the field of the intellect, this means the "simultaneous cultivation of the powers of assimilation and of production, of the scientific as well as the artistic faculties, of observation and judgment as well as memory, imagination and taste." "All the great branches of human knowledge which extend their ramifications in all directions, have at their origin and basis certain truths which are simple, primordial, fundamental and easily observable and intelligible even to young children; these must constitute the first lot of ideas possessed by the little pupil destined to increase his mental stock gradually."

The co-education of the sexes at Cempuis, a revolutionary idea in France, and one of M. Robin's pet notions, is discussed in the second chapter of the book; the next chapter deals with physical education, especially the elaborate system of bodily exercises admirably carried through by the school. A scheme for periodical bodily measurements, devised with the aid of M. Bertillon, the well-known Paris anthropometrist, has been introduced and might well inspire our educators with a spirit of imitation. Manual training of very much the same kind as is offered in some of our own schools, but much more diversified, is another essential feature of this noteworthy educational institution. Some of the methods of child-teaching invented by the Cempuis staff have found their way to American schools and kindergartens; others might be adopted with equal profit. Indeed, it is surprising that the teachers in the new school, many of them obliged to invent *de toutes pièces* the educational methods they employ, should have brought these methods so near perfection.

IN MR. WILLIAM GRIFFITHS' "History of Kansas City"¹ is found a kind of literary effort that should be encouraged. The work is an improvement on most of the undertakings of the kind. It seems unfortunate that municipal histories are not prepared with less of the enthusiasm of the local resident, and with a broader purpose of giving to the student or historian reliable data on which to build. The local writers could do a great service to the country by giving an accurate account of the political and social institutions and material progress of every city and town of considerable size.

GUNTON AND ROBBINS' "Outlines of Social Economics"² is a small

¹ Pp. 133. Price \$1.50. Kansas City: Hudson-Kimberly Company, 1900.

² By GEORGE GUNTON and HAYES ROBBINS. Price, 75 cents. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1900.

volume of 215 pages, designed especially for study clubs. Its method is unique, giving, in conjunction with concise statements of theory, a bibliography and "extracts from readings" as appendices to each chapter. The theories presented are well considered and deserving of thought. In substance quite a departure is made from the old school, but the form and classification is largely retained. This is unfortunate, for a new view would be greatly strengthened by new categories and classification.

MR. HALES, an Australian war correspondent for the London *Daily News* has recently published selections from his "letters from the front," under the descriptive title "Campaign Pictures of the War in South Africa."¹ By reason of his use of sombre as well as bright colors in his pictures, the pro-British enthusiast has represented him as a man to be distrusted. It is refreshing to find a man in the field who attempts to portray things as they are, instead of devoting his talent to pleasing popular fancy. We are indebted to men of this type for much of our reliable information. The best protection that a nation has against "conduct which will cause its people to blush with shame" is the candid correspondent.

HARPERS HAVE PUBLISHED a history of the Philippine war, containing seventeen chapters and six appendices.² The work is dedicated "to all who have fought gallantly; to all who have written frankly; to all who now read without prejudice." The history begins with Magellan's voyage and recounts the early struggles of the natives with the Christianizing influences sent out by Spain. In the third chapter begins the story of the "final revolt against the Spaniard, which was transformed into a movement against the Americans." This movement is shown in chapter six to have been due to the "vain hope of independence" which led the insurgents to attack the American lines. Chapters seven to fifteen are devoted to military operations during the two years 1899-1900. The last two chapters present the political and social situation in the islands and discuss the local resources under the headings, agriculture, commerce and transportation, exports and imports, mineral resources, woods, etc.

The only new feature with reference to the material is its association with a pleasing style, a fine quality of paper and beautiful and profuse illustrations. If the editor is without prejudice and has full knowledge of events, he has presented convincing justification of the

¹ By A. G. HALES. Pp. 303. Price, \$1.50. New York: Cassell & Co., 1900.

² *Harpers' History of the War in the Philippines*. Edited by MARRION WILCOX, LL. B. Pp. 471. Price, \$10.00. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1900.

American policy of protecting the Filipinos against a designing minority of their own race. The book teems with citations of "repressive measures executed by our troops" as well as evidence that the "cruel crimes [of the ladrones] have put them where they will be hunted like wild beasts." The liberal use of documents, the chronological tables, the pictures of social life in the Philippines, the list of volunteer soldiers, the photographs of prominent officers, the party platforms and views of the Kansas City and Philadelphia conventions, all combine to give to the book genuine value.

DR ALEXANDER JOHNSON'S "History of the United States for Schools" since its first publication has undergone three revisions and now appears under the title of "High School History of the United States."¹ The second edition was revised by Professor Winthrop More Daniels, of Princeton. The present one has had the professional attention of Dr. William MacDonald, of Bowdoin. The work as originally published was in the nature of a departure from the various forms of fable which had passed as American History. The author has abandoned the old stories of Pocahontas, Putnam and the wolf, etc., as centres of interest and endeavored to call attention to the larger aspects of our national career with the purpose of inspiring the student with ideals of duty and responsible citizenship. The able re-editing which it has had gives to the publication the stamp of reliability. The criticism of a present-day writer would be that too little attention is given to the economic aspects of political and social life.

THE PUBLISHERS of "Le Mouvement Socialiste," a Paris socialistic semi-monthly review, have recently started a series known as the "Socialist Library,"² which is to include a new volume or number every month, each number to contain about one hundred pages. The collection will comprehend treatises on doctrinal matters, historical and biographical studies, and translations from the socialistic literature of other countries than France. All of these will furnish material for propaganda purposes. The first number is a handy brochure in favor of co-operative societies for consumption, describing the organization and workings of such societies and telling how they may contribute to the advancement of the socialist cause. The second volume of the series is a more ambitious affair; M. Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian

¹ Pp. 612, xvii. Price, \$1.25. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1901.

² *Bibliothèque Socialiste*. No. 1: Manuel du Coopérateur socialiste. Par M. LAUZEL. Pp. 100 Price, 50 centimes. Nos. 2-4: Le Collectivisme et l'Evolution industrielle. Par EMILE VANDERVELDE. Pp. 285 Price, 1 fr. 50. Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Edition, 1900.

labor leader, takes up the well-known thesis that economic progress is leading us surely and inevitably onward to industrial concentration and socialization (page 67). The threefold process of this socialization, according to the author, includes: the expropriation of trusts and industrial combinations, the penetration of the state into new fields of economic activity, and the growth of co-operative groups with or without state aid.

"LET THERE BE LIGHT"¹ is the motto of a small club of workingmen who have come together to discuss the remedy for the admittedly adverse conditions under which they labor. Their president gradually leads them to the conclusion that neither political nor economic reform, democracy nor socialism can bring relief. He turns then to the only effectual remedy—religion. Assuming God, whose existence is "made manifest in all creation," he formulates a new religion based on the worship of this One God, to take the place of the present "polytheistic trinitarian idea of God." The book is interesting, not because it seems to offer a practical solution of social injustices, but because of its earnestness and high purpose, and because of its appeal to the workingmen for a religious reform as the only basis for true economic reform.²

THE FIFTH EDITION of Mahan's "Church History"³ will continue the usefulness of a text-book which for many years has been deservedly popular. Although warmly partisan on some subjects connected with the tenets of the Protestant Episcopal Church, it is in most respects scholarly and accurate. In its account of the attitude of the Roman Empire, however, it shows no acquaintance with the results of recent study. It is to be regretted that charity did not cause the erasure of certain slurs against heretics and pagans. But where a sectarian history is needed this is one of the best obtainable.⁴

THAT THE OLD style of "state" histories has passed away is evidenced by the appearance of another of the series of scholarly and exhaustive volumes on the history of South Carolina⁵ by Edward McCrady, a member of the Charleston (S. C.) bar. The two preceding works of Mr. McCrady carried the colony to the Revolution. The

¹ By DAVID LUBIN. Pp. 526. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900.

² Contributed by Mr. C. D. Scully, Philadelphia.

³ *A Church History of the First Seven Centuries.* By MILO MAHAN, D. D. Fifth Edition. Pp. xxxiv, 595. Price, \$2.00. New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co., 1900.

⁴ Contributed by Dana C. Munro, of the University of Pennsylvania.

⁵ *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-80.* By EDWARD MCCRADY, LL. D. Pp. xxxiii, 899. Price, \$3.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901.

new volume, "South Carolina in the Revolution," (Macmillan), renews the story with the less understood beginnings of the civil revolution in that state. The spread of the contagion from the agitators to the people as a whole is clearly shown.

As is generally the case, Mr. McCrady takes "Revolution" to mean largely the war, and, therefore, after the year 1778, when the tide of war turned southward, the volume takes up in detail the various campaigns and battles. Those who enjoy military history will no doubt be delighted with the author's minute descriptions. Indeed, so carefully is this done that at the end of six hundred pages on the war itself the author is compelled for space to stop and announce another book as supplementary, although it is not so stated on the title-page. The recital closes with the end of the year 1780.

No undue laudation of his state and offensive comparisons with the other states mar the careful descriptions and calm statements of the author. As a military work it has not been equalled so far as South Carolina is concerned. Several plans of battles aid the descriptions.¹

THE GOVERNMENT OF MINNESOTA² is an excellent description of the organization and practical workings of the state. After a short historical introduction the author takes up the central government, local government, elections, courts, finances, school system, charities and militia. The book is written in an easy, entertaining style and is particularly suited for use in colleges and high schools. The historical material which it contains is well arranged, but the portion dealing with the central offices of administration is too much curtailed. It may be hoped that future volumes of the series will remedy this defect.

THE LARGE VOLUME³ which Alberto Morelli, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Padua, has written on the development and nature of the institution of royalty, is probably the most comprehensive, general treatise of this sort on the subject. The greater part of the book is devoted to a discussion of such matters as succession to the throne, regency, prerogatives, and ministers, and is essentially a continuation of the same author's study on "*La Funzione Legislativa*."

¹ Contributed by Edwin E. Sparks, University of Chicago.

² By FRANK L. McVEY, Ph. D. *Handbooks of American Government*. Edited by Lawrence B. Evans, Ph. D. Pp. 236. Price, 75c. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901.

³ *Il Re*. By ALBERTO MORELLI. Pp. 763. Price, 10 lire. Bologna: Zanichelli.

IN HOMER MORRIS' revised edition of Andrews' "Manual of the Constitution of the United States,"¹ the original design of the book has been observed. For fifty years previous to his death in 1888, Dr. Andrews was connected with Marietta College. He had been made president in 1855. In 1874, he published in condensed form what he found by experience in the class-room to be most useful in the study of civil government in the United States. He aimed at a clear exposition of the principles of the constitution with a summary of the laws in which they have been embodied. It is apparent that the inclusion of the more recent interpretations, enactments, and executive actions affecting political development cannot fail to increase the utility and popularity of such a standard text-book.

Chapter IV on the Constitution has been greatly enriched by new material relating to such important subjects as: The Gerrymander, Deadlocks, The Reed Rules, Income Tax, Revenue, Interstate Commerce, Arbitration of Labor Disputes, Trusts, Naturalization, State Insolvency Laws, Bankruptcy Act of 1898, Currency Legislation, Banks, Rural Free Delivery, The Philippine Insurrection, The Boxer Outbreak in China, The Acquisition of Territory by Treaty, and the Restrictions of the Suffrage.

The whole work has been brought up to date, numerous explanatory foot-notes have been added, obsolete paragraphs have been eliminated, the summaries of congressional legislation have been condensed, and the names of vice-presidents, cabinet officers, etc., listed in the appendix.²

THE WRITINGS OF the Franco-Russian sociologist, M. Jacques Novicow,³ are always interesting, often suggestive and sometimes important. But even the most ardent lover of universal peace will pause before reading over eight hundred closely printed pages in favor of a European federation; and the "deluded expansionist," for whom M. Novicow has so much contempt, will probably get no farther than the introduction. The author has expanded what might have been said in two hundred pages into more than four times that space.

The economic considerations, however, which he brings to bear upon the question, form a strong argument. Though the earth, M. Novicow declares, possesses resources sufficient to procure well being for all mankind, yet we foolishly employ a great part of our time in despoiling and massacring one another, instead of exploiting natural

¹ Pp. 432. Price, \$1.00. New York: American Book Company, 1901.

² Contributed by Claude L. Roth.

³ *La Fédération de l'Europe*. By J. Novicow. Pp. 807. Price, 3 fr. 50. Paris, Alcan, 1900.

resources. The present activity of man may be divided into three parts: One part is devoted to the production of wealth; the second is engaged in the preparation of formidable military equipments with a view to the spoliation of our neighbors; while a third part is devoted to protecting ourselves against spoliation by our neighbors. Misery will only cease when men have given up these last two activities and have devoted themselves solely to the first.

It is certainly no exaggeration to say that ten million men have been sacrificed in the European wars of the nineteenth century, to say nothing of the material waste of war. In 1865 the principal nations of Europe spent over \$500,000,000 for the maintenance of their armament. Now they expend more than \$1,060,000,000. In 1875 the standing armies of European nations included 2,660,000 men; now they include 3,120,000. In the same twenty-five years the war footing has risen from 7,900,000 to 19,700,000—more than the entire population of Spain. Since 1870 the debts of the European powers, chiefly due to wars, have risen from \$15,000,000,000 to \$24,000,000,000.

These facts and many others of a similar nature make of M. Novicow's book a veritable arsenal of anti-militaristic arguments, and if universal peace and disarmament can be brought any nearer realization by argument and eloquence, the author has made a great stride in that direction.¹

A SECOND EDITION of Mr. Owen's "Questions and Answers to Twenty-five of the Most Important Legal Subjects"² speaks well for the efficiency of this method of getting at underlying principles of law. "The Quizzer," when taken in connection with assigned readings or lectures, is a valuable help to a student. Mr. Owen has combined with the quiz method that of citation of the authority for his answer. His work covers such subjects as contracts, agency, bailments, negotiable instruments, principle and surety, partnership, personal property, wills, domestic relations, private corporations, etc., besides the more general branches of criminal law, equity, pleading and constitutional law.

THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION has shown its appreciation of the value of the study of early economic history by publishing an important study of the decay of villainage in England by Thomas Walker Page.³ Dr. Page has examined a large number of manuscript

¹ Contributed by C. W. A. Veditz, Ph. D.

² *Questions and Answers*. By WILBUR A. OWEN, LL. M., of the Toledo Bar. Pp. 612. Price, \$3.00. St. Paul: West Publishing Co.

³ *The End of Villainage in England*. By THOMAS WALKER PAGE. Pp. 99. Price, \$1.00. Published for the American Economic Association by the Macmillan Company, May, 1900.

records of the fourteenth century preserved in the British Museum and the Public Record Office, and has drawn from them most enlightening information as to the social changes in progress at that critical period. His most important results are the disproof that there was any reintroduction of labor services after the Black Death, as Rogers asserted, and his proof that on the other hand commutation was going on rapidly, that the position of the villain was improving, and that as a result of the money terms in which his tenure was expressed, the customary tenant became within the last half of the fourteenth century practically a free man and a copyhold tenant of his land.

"JESUS CHRIST AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION"¹ is a presentation of Christ as a social leader. The author recognizes that Christ was primarily a religious teacher and that his social doctrine is a by-product. But in these occasional remarks, these teachings by the way, are to be found certain definite principles which may be applied with profit to the varying social conditions of successive periods of time. The social principles of the teaching of Jesus are "The view from above, the approach from within, and the movement toward a spiritual end; wisdom, personality, idealism; a social horizon, a social power, a social aim." It is in the discussion of these principles and in their practical application to modern social problems that the author has performed his greatest service. Jesus in viewing human institutions from above obtained a perspective so conspicuously lacking in most discussions of the social question. The development of personality is the aim of his social teaching. "The chief difficulty with modern social life, as we shall repeatedly see, is not a mechanical difficulty, but a moral fault. . . . The chief social contribution of Jesus is the production of spiritual personality."

The family, private property, and the industrial order are then considered "under the form of concentric circles environing the individual life." Social mechanism, the solution of minor problems involved in the social question, receives but slight consideration. "The adjustment of economic conditions is, in each new age, a new problem of social mechanism, to be solved by new devices concerning which Jesus can have nothing to say; but the end for which these varying forms of social mechanism are devised is in all ages the same. It is the production of personality, the making of men."

It is a pleasure to note the clear optimistic ring of Professor Peabody's book. Its spirit is calm, conservative, and scientific. It is

¹ By FRANCIS GREENWOOD PEABODY. Pp. 374. Price \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

gladly welcomed to the rapidly accumulating mass of literature treating from different standpoints the social question.¹

"NATIONAL LIFE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF SCIENCE"² is a published address delivered at New Castle, England, before the Literary and Philosophical Society, by Professor Karl Pearson, of the University College, London. Its importance consists largely in the sociological view of inferior races entertained by the speaker. He argues that the influence of heredity is such as to prevent any successful attempt being made to elevate the lower races without materially affecting the development of the higher. In those new territories, such as South America, where the higher race has attempted to assimilate or elevate the lower, the net result has been a mixture which is little better than the lower race and much worse than the higher. In those territories, however, where the lower type has been crowded out or annihilated, the result has been most favorable to civilization as a whole, since the superior type of man is left free to develop his powers and resources. Examples of this are seen in North America and Australia. Professor Pearson admits that the process of elimination of inferior races leads to untold suffering, cruelty and even scandal, but he believes that the net result to civilization is much more satisfactory. His conclusions are obviously drawn from biological evolution.

IT IS A GLOOMY PICTURE of the condition of the French laboring classes which MM. Pelloutier give us in the pages of their recent book³—so gloomy, indeed, that even the most unsuspicious reader is led to believe that we have here not the impartial, dispassionate statement of a case, but the eloquent argument of the advocate for one of the parties. The volume, nevertheless, is full of facts, valuable facts concerning the hours of work, wages, female labor, child labor, the death rate in certain dangerous trades, the standard of life among laborers, drunkenness, and compulsory idleness. Far too frequently, however, for a book ostensibly describing the life of French laborers, the authors have dragged in all sorts of statistics and information (not always from first-class sources) concerning the state of affairs in other countries. The most interesting section of the book is the chapter on alcoholism, in which the authors maintain that drunkenness, which is

¹ Contributed by Walter A. Payne, University of Chicago.

² Pp. 62. Price, 80 cents. New York, Macmillan Company. London: Adam and Charles Black.

³ *La Vie Ouvrière en France*. By F. and M. PELLOUTIER. Pp. 344. Price, 5/fr. (Bibliothèque internationale des Sciences Sociologiques, Schleicher frères, éditeurs.) Paris: 1900.

spreading among French laborers, is a consequence and not a cause of their misery.¹

"THE PRIVATE LIFE OF KING EDWARD VII" has evidently been written in response to a widespread demand for information about the new sovereign. Its three hundred odd pages discuss the "Prince" in town, in the country, "as a student," "in society," "as a churchman," "on the course," and so on, in the tone of the society column. The book will probably interest any one who cares to know that His Majesty plays cards and "enjoys the pastime," but never pursues "this amusement to excess," or that shooting is his passion, or that when in India he wore a "khaki jacket and knickerbockers and a solar topee with a very wide brim, and a pugaree." As a purveyor of harmless court gossip, written, perhaps, to counteract gossip of the other sort, the book will probably be of great service.

"POLITICAL GROWTH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY"² is an attempt to summarize within the limits of a single volume the more important political changes throughout the world during the last hundred years. The author has tried not so much to trace general tendencies or international movements as to give a connected sketch of the political changes in each country. The work is divided into five books based in general upon racial conditions, as follows:

1. Continental Europe, including
 - (a) Latin Nations.
 - (b) Southeastern Europe and Russia.
 - (c) Teutonic Nations.
2. Great Britain and Her Colonies.
3. United States.
4. Spanish and Portuguese America.
5. Unclassified Countries.

An excellent and critical bibliography is appended.

In his introduction the author sketches the general progress of democracy throughout the world, while in the concluding chapter he attempts to give an answer to two questions: First, Have the weapons of democracy been wisely used? Second, Has democracy caused a cessation in the conflict of classes? In answer to the first question, the author concludes that, aside from certain necessary mistakes due to experimentation, the net result of democracy has been a decided

¹ Contributed by C. W. A. Veditz, Ph. D.

² *The Private Life of King Edward VII.* By a member of the Royal Household. Pp. x, 306. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1901.

³ By EDMUND H. SEARS, A. M. Pp. 616. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan, 1900.

gain. The second question is, however, answered negatively. The conflict of classes is unceasing because of the existence of wealth, but the author believes that democracy places this conflict upon a higher plane and gives fairer chances to all concerned.

It would be unfair to judge the work by usual standards of criticism, because the task which Professor Sears has undertaken is an unusual one. There is an amazing amount of material gathered together within a comparatively short compass. The important has been carefully sifted from the unimportant; the temporary from the permanent. The book is interesting throughout, is written in an easy style and with a model arrangement of matter. The defects of the work are incident to its general scope. Political history without an economic and social background becomes mere narrative, and while the author has tried, with some success, to afford this background, notably in the cases of the United States, Australia and the British colonies, yet in the main he has been compelled, probably for lack of space, to omit the treatment of such facts. As a simple register of political phenomena, conveniently summarized and arranged, the work deserves the highest praise.

IT IS OF INTEREST to note that President Sharpless, of Haverford, in his "Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History,"¹ recently published by the Lippincott Company, has taken a decided step in advance in the writing of state histories. Too commonly they are confined to pioneer tales, the doings of public men, or events of a military nature. From the work in hand one may get a broad view of the life of the people, of movements in material progress, of economic and financial activity, as well as of political and social. The history of a people is more than an account of the dramatic poses of a few heroes or political leaders. Public men are only the by-product of social progress.

In marked contrast with this is Lowrie and McCardle's² "History of Mississippi," recently brought out by the New York and New Orleans University Publishing Company. The announced purpose of the authors is to give to the young "a knowledge of the past history of the state, brilliant with the illustrious names and heroic deeds of her gallant sons, which will make their hearts thrill with pride and patriotism." This is well enough for poetry and platitude from a political platform, for editorials and entertainment, but for a general history it is misleading. It blinds the vision and fixes the attention of the people on their leaders rather than on those interests

¹ By ISAAC SHARPLESS. Pp. 385. Price, \$1.25.

² By R. LOWRIE and W. H. MCCARDLE. Pp. 442. Price, \$1.00.

which must be understood by the common man as prerequisite to government based on general welfare.

A WELL-TOLD STORY of the Nicaragua Canal enterprise, and an excellent description of the country through which it must pass, comes from the pen of Mr. William E. Simmons.¹ The book is illustrated, and, without being too technical, is intended to give to the reader a bird's-eye view of the actual situation.

"THE STORY OF MONEY,"² by Edward C. Towne, gives us little or nothing that is new. It is a rehash of trite theory and argument. Its inspiration was in the fear that the currency issue might again be raised in the recent campaign. The author's contribution, in so far as he may be said to have contributed anything, is a labored argument to show that "bimetallism" does not mean equality of the two metals, but the use of both for monetary purposes; in other words, that it does not mean anything.

VOLUME I OF Dr. Thomas Alfred Walker's "History of the Law of Nations"³ is confined entirely to the pre-Grotian period. Such subjects as "The International System of the Israelites;" "The International Law of the Greeks;" "International Law in the Days of the Roman Empire;" "International Law in the Middle Ages" are not commonly regarded by authors as coming properly within the scope of a treatise on international law. As pointed out by the author in his preface, there have been but three attempts at writing, in the English language, a history of international law, and none of these has gone at length into the early period of development. Dr. Walker's first volume is thoroughly scientific. It traces the evolution of the leading principles through the formative period to the time of the treaty of Westphalia (1648), laying a solid foundation for the work which is to follow. It is scholarly throughout; it presents in convenient form the results of research which it would be impossible for the student less fortunately situated to obtain.

"BUSINESS LAW,"⁴ by Mr. Thomas Raeburn White, of the Law Department, University of Pennsylvania, is an elementary text-book for schools and colleges. In this Mr. White has taken up the prin-

¹ *Nicaragua Canal.* Pp. 330. Price, \$1.25. New York: Harper, 1900.

² Pp. 248. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company, 1900.

³ Vol. I, pp. 361, 30. Price \$3.00. New York: Macmillan Company. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1900.

⁴ Pp. 353, xiv. Price, \$1.50. New York: Silver, Burdett & Co.

ciple underlying the contractual relations of business and has treated them with a conciseness and precision which commends the book to the constituency for which it was written. An introduction by Professor Roland P. Falkner sets forth the utility as well as the limitations of such a study in our colleges. If the author is to be criticised, the criticism will apply equally well to nearly all law writers, namely, that they are apt to be too slavish in following the remote past: for example, the use of the term "municipal law" to mean the law of a state, coming down from a time when the municipal law of Rome gave to the subject that character; whereas to-day our nomenclature has a distinctly local significance.

REVIEWS.

American History Told by Contemporaries. Volume iii. National Expansion, 1783-1845. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Pp. xx, 668. Price \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

The earlier volumes have become so well known as to make unnecessary any explanation of the plan and purpose of this indispensable series of "Sources." The preliminary matter has been condensed; the introductory notes and references are clear and pointed, but in some instances too great sacrifices have been made for the sake of brevity. In critical years like 1783 and 1790 the dates are sometimes not given with desirable explicitness. For example, the vast majority of those who use this book will not have access to the 1810 edition of Hamilton's Works, and will thus be quite unable to fit the reprint "Report on a National Bank" (No. 82) into its proper place in the bank controversy.

Perhaps "National Expansion" may serve as well as any other title to characterize the period to which this volume is devoted, although there may be some question as to the significance of the year chosen to mark its closing. These years throng with statesmen and issues of the first importance in American history, and it must indeed have been "a painful task to throw out much instructive and interesting material which had been selected." The one hundred and eighty-nine "pieces" vary in length from one to six pages; they are of the most diverse character and quality, and illustrate widely varying phases of American life and development. They are distributed among the following principal topics: The United States in 1783; The Confederation; The Federal Constitution; Federal Supremacy; Jeffersonian Supremacy; National Consciousness; Social and Political Readjustment; Slavery and Abolition.

No subject is presented with more satisfactory fullness of illustrative material than the formation and inauguration of the Constitution. These pages also give the data for a comprehensive and non-partisan understanding of the beginnings of the conflict over slavery.

Two minor topics will have their especial timeliness. The first of these is the group of excerpts relating to "National Expansion." Here is President Jefferson's statement of the importance which the possession of New Orleans would have for the future of the United States. There follows Lucien Bonaparte's spirited account of Napoleon's discussion with his two brothers in regard to the sale of Louisiana. Mr. Henry Adams has already made excellent use of this in his "Administrations of Jefferson and Madison." It is to be regretted that the translation especially prepared for this volume should be so wretchedly unidiomatic. To take a sentence almost at random,— "Joseph, splashed to the extent of the immersion of his clothes and his face, had received all over him the most copious injection," will hardly rank as classic English. Senators' objections to the annexation of Louisiana have a decidedly modern ring, while the petition of Louisiana inhabitants for representative government brings out clearly the early phases of the question whether the Constitution follows the flag. Of like timeliness is the group of papers relating to foreign policy, especially in connection with the early statements and interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine. (Nos. 142-150.)

It is a matter of course that each user of this book will regret particular omissions. It seems hardly fair, for example, that in a controversy at once so bitter and so abounding in precedents as that which arose over the charter of the first Bank of the United States, only the Federalist side should be presented, while Jefferson's vigorous counter-argument must be sought elsewhere. Again, it seems unfortunate that in the whole group of papers relating to "Federal Supremacy" there should be no hint of the influence of John Marshall and of the courts in establishing that supremacy. Of course this is no careless oversight; the editor is here consistently observing his self-imposed limitation in avoiding "constitutional documents, both because they are not self-explanatory, and because good collections of them now fortunately abound." But neither court reports nor even digests are in the hands of the majority of those to whom these volumes will render their chief service; it is therefore to be regretted that scope could not have been allowed for the presentation of so dominant an influence.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

The Peace Conference at the Hague, and Its Bearings on International Law and Policy. By FREDERICK W. HOLLS, D. C. L. Pp. 572. Price, \$3.00 New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900.

Éméric Crucé. By THOMAS WILLING BALCH. Pp. 69. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1900.

All who are interested in efforts to secure the peace of the world, must feel grateful to Mr. Holls for his work. He has given us what we must consider a trustworthy account of the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899, with comment and interpretation of great value. In advance of the official record, the work is invaluable to readers of English, as it frees the subject from popular misapprehensions fostered by sensational newspapers. It shows clearly just what was attempted, and it gives one the right basis for forming an opinion as to what is likely to result from the deliberations of this august body, in which nearly all civilized nations were represented.

The book is a handsome octavo, the type large and clear and the external dress all that could be desired. The author treats of the calling of the Peace Conference and its opening on the birthday of the Czar of Russia May 18, 1899. Most appropriately it was held at the Hague, in the House in the Wood, which was built as a memorial tribute to the great irenic stadholder Frederick Henry. In his life and by his personal power this republican ruler did much to consolidate the United Netherlands, and to heal political and theological quarrels; to his country, he gave such a unity of mutual interests and benignant power that William Penn found in it a type of what he hoped to see in a universal family of nations.

Other chapters in Mr. Holls's work treat of the work of the first, second and third committees, each of which was charged with practical issues, and of the various discussions of principles and methods calculated to bring about peace. One descriptive chapter pictures the conference from day to day. In conclusion the author discusses the bearing of the conference upon international law and policy. The appendices covering over one hundred and fifty pages, give the text of the final act, the treaties and declarations adopted by the Peace Conference, and the general report of the American commission, with an account of the celebration in honor of Hugo Grotius at Delft, on July 4. On this occasion the American ambassador delivered the chief address, and in the name of the Government of the United States laid a silver wreath upon the grave of the great jurist. There is also a good index.

To certain classes of persons, the peace convention proved a profound disappointment. Even yet it is the butt of those who are impatient of slow processes and demand immediate results. Others,

especially those of extreme partisan views, looking at recent events in South Africa, the Philippines and China, declare the conference a total failure. Such persons cannot be very familiar either with history or with human nature. It is easy to read on the printed page of triumphs in the past and imagine that they were quickly produced. The magic of reading deceives us as to the slow process of growth. From such a conference as that of May, 1899, one need not expect much more than seed, certainly neither a consummate flower nor the rapid ripening of fruit. Nevertheless, when one sees an Asiatic nation like Japan cabling the entire text of the arbitration treaty to Tokio, and entering so heartily into the spirit, and so promptly acting upon the recommendation of the conference, he reads a happy augury for the future. Furthermore, to find such unanimity in the treaty on the laws and customs of war, mitigating its horrors for wounded and prisoners, is very cheering.

If Great Britain clings to the dum-dum bullets and China does not ratify the treaty on the laws and customs of war, it does not follow that progress in civilization has not been made. Even the United States did not for a whole generation, that is until the Spanish-American war of 1898, accept the recommendations of the Congress of Paris to abolish privateering. Judging from the past and seeing what fruits the peace literature produced by Éméric Crucé, Grotius, William Penn, Kant and others, and the previous peace congresses have borne, one must believe that vast good will yet come out of the deliberations of the Hague Congress and the acceptance of its principles by the nations.

Already the permanent court of arbitration, provided by the convention, has been organized and is now ready to consider any international dispute that may be presented. It is easily the highest tribunal in the world, with the most numerous and eminent bench of any court ever projected. Fifteen nations, embracing all the maritime powers, have appointed their members. In the Hague, "the house of all nations"—an old palatial mansion in outward form—represents the spirit of united Christendom. The administrative council consists of the ministers of foreign affairs in the Netherlands and the diplomatic representatives at the Hague of the ratifying powers.

Even though wars will go on, who can believe but that these will be less frequent, and be shorn of their savagery, as the years pass by? Certainly, unless the great nations were willing to engage in a costly farce, they have by their action delegated the right of force to a secondary place as a rule of practice for the world. Coming as this conference did right after the United States had, in a new sense, become a world-power, it is interesting to see from Mr. Holls's account,

as well as the patent facts, that the United States found their new station fully recognized by all the great nations. No delegation exercised more influence than did that of the United States in the conference.

In one respect, this world's convention will have a direct influence in modifying our national constitution. Unless we are much mistaken the future will show, even if Mr. Holls's narrative does not, that our acceptance of a place in the Tribunal of International Arbitration has tended powerfully to increase the power of the President of the United States. While in our other treaties and conventions with foreign nations, the United States of America have been named as the contracting party, the Hague Convention nominates our chief executive only. Hence we find President McKinley, in accordance with Article XXIII of the convention, appointing without consultation or consent of the Senate, the four persons (one already deceased) who are to act in the international court. These appointees to a world-court are not officers of the United States, but are supposed to be impartial judges. Should our country invoke the action of this court, the President of the United States would in all probability settle the terms of the subject to be brought before the court and the extent of jurisdiction conferred. Again, he must stand in place of the United States for the fulfilment of the award.

Mr. Holls has not stated this as his opinion. In fact in another place he expresses a view rather to the contrary. His book does not, so far as we have seen, touch upon the subjects of the President's powers or his limitations in this matter. The future has yet to show whether in such a world-court the President will lead or follow American public opinion. It seems very certain, however, that the President has always been the real director of our foreign policy. It seems also certain that the United States is better fitted than most republics to play the part of a great power in questions of world diplomacy. Technically dangerous as this new world-court may seem, in its bearings upon American freedom, we doubt not that the character of the American people will, for the most part at least, place our country on the right side in questions of war or peace, and that our constitution will receive no serious shock because of this new means of securing peace for the world.

In connection with the Hague Conference, attention should be called to a very valuable pamphlet on Éméric Crucé, by Thomas Willing Balch, in which this Philadelphia author names Crucé, a French scholar, as the originator of modern international arbitration. In his little book, "*Le Nouveau Cynée*," Paris, 1623, copious extracts from the single known extant copy of which, in the Bib-

liothèque Nationale, are published in Mr. Balch's pamphlet, it is shown that nations might unite for arbitration. The Frenchman was ahead of the Dutch writer Grotius by two years, for the latter did not publish his work until 1625. The court of arbitration which Crucé suggested was to be permanent. Certainly, in connection with this record of the Peace Conference at the Hague, the name of Crucé should be held in high honor.

If to-day earnest men feel discouraged at the slow advance of peace, let them remember that Crucé's work quickly fell into oblivion, and that even Grotius's book was in the main unheeded at first, while at Rome it was put on the index of books prohibited to be read by Christians. Indeed, Hugo de Groot had been three years in his tomb before even the treaty of Munster which ended the thirty years' war was signed. Mr. Holls's book cheers those who look for "the steady gain of man."

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

Ithaca, N. Y.

A History of Colonization, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By HENRY C. MORRIS. 2 vols. Pp. xxiv, 459; xiii, 383. Price \$4.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900.

It is perhaps unfortunate that most of our American works on colonial subjects have been prepared in the rush and hurry incident to the abruptness with which we have acquired colonial possessions. Various writers have pointed out that the immediate occasion of England's sudden rise as a colonial power is to be found in her wars with Spain and France. Similarly, the United States has acquired colonial territory with a suddenness not entirely justified by the extent or direction of her trade expansion, and this fact will excuse many of the shortcomings in our literature on colonies. The task which Mr. Morris set for himself was a difficult one. As is stated in the preface, he has accepted the results already obtained by other writers in the field. Much of the matter presented is therefore a summary of other works. The book begins with a preliminary chapter on "General Principles of Colonization." This chapter is one of the best parts of the work. It is to be regretted that, with the exception of the parts dealing with Great Britain, the high standard could not be maintained. The author announces a general outline to be followed throughout the book, including the following points:

- "Causes of Colonial Origin,"
- "Objects of Colonization,"
- "Requisite Conditions in Parent State and Colony,"
- "Methods of Colonization,"

"Systems of Government applied to the Colony,"

"Period and Course of Development of Colonial Life,"

"Cost of Colonization to Mother Country,"

"Advantages Derived and Disadvantages Accruing from a Colonial Policy,"

"Causes Leading to the Severance of Colonial Ties and the Establishment of Independent States,"

"Relations Existing Between the Former Parent State and the Liberated Colony after the Latter's Freedom has been Attained."

To render any system of colonization successful, the author declares that certain well-defined conditions must exist in the land to be colonized and in the parent state. "The region to be brought under control must . . . be without a recognized method of rule or with an administration very imperfectly constituted; its society must be more or less crude and uncultured, while its people must as a race be untrained in the higher type of civilization and inexperienced in manufactures, commerce and statecraft. Just as soon as the colonists approach a degree of culture similar to that of the mother country, the association between the two becomes irksome and difficult to sustain, unless, indeed, the latter practically renounces all participation and intervention in colonial affairs."

On the part of the mother country the following requisites are indispensable: The colonizing nation must be strong and highly developed socially, that is, it must be possessed of great wealth and density of population. There must be excessive competition, a surplus of labor, a certain degree of discontent in order to produce the necessary materials for colonization. Furthermore, a race without the naval and military spirit is ill fitted for colonization. In short, the mother country and the colony must be economic complements of each other. The main discussion of the subject is divided into three periods. The earliest attempts at colonization, including the Egyptian, Chaldean, Persian, Phœnician, Carthaginian, Greek and Roman systems, are first considered.

These chapters form Part I, under the heading, "Antiquity." The author then takes up, in Part II, "The Middle Ages," including the establishing of trading posts along the Mediterranean, Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, Florence and Venice. Part III contains a discussion of colonization in modern times beginning with the Portuguese, and including the Spanish, Dutch, French, English and minor systems of colonization. The English system occupies the entire second volume with the exception of two chapters. Under "Minor Colonization" the author includes the Scandinavian, German, Modern Italian, Belgian, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Chinese colonies. A good bibliog-

raphy is added, although this might perhaps have been dispensed with in view of the book list which has been issued by the Library of Congress.

The work contains an enormous amount of material, which has been well digested and arranged. By far the best portion is the second volume dealing with English colonization. The author has made a consistent, though not always successful, attempt to follow his outline. In many places he has necessarily given a history of migration, and from the vagueness of the term colony, the book has suffered somewhat in clearness. The question also arises whether the student who wishes to secure information on colonial subjects might not do so to greater advantage from works on individual colonies. The arrangement of material, however, is so systematic and convenient that the work will be desirable for general reference purposes.

JAMES T. YOUNG.

University of Pennsylvania.

Law and Policy of Annexation. By CARMAN F. RANDOLPH. Pp. 226. Price, \$3.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901.

"The annexation of the Philippines is the immediate reason for this book, which, in dealing with the event itself, advocates withdrawal of our sovereignty from the islands, and suggests a method for its accomplishment." This well expresses, in the author's language, the apparent purpose of the work. It presents a discussion of our title to the Philippines, the application of the Constitution to the islands and the mode of government, together with a consideration of the best way by which we may withdraw from the present predicament. The author advocates the establishment of a protectorate over the islands. A brief chapter on the status of Cuba and the text of important documents with reference to the acquisitions are added. Of course the treatment is not strictly confined to the Philippines, but reference is constantly made also to Puerto Rico.

The writer has selected a field of unusual interest at this time, but has given a comparatively brief *résumé* of an extensive subject, rather than a close and thorough investigation. Especially is this true in reference to a most important branch of the subject, the question of the application of the Constitution to our new possessions. The author holds to the view that the Constitution applies directly to the islands, and that its guaranties to life, liberty and property are there in force *ex proprio vigore*. He examines in brief the arguments against this view, but the treatment is popular rather than legal, and his apparent partisanship detracts somewhat from the force of his position.

The distinction is here, as elsewhere, not clearly enough drawn between two very different questions, viz., whether the Constitution contemplates the holding of subject territory; and second, whether it contemplates the governing of this territory without restriction, or intends that the constitutional restrictions upon the legislation of Congress should be equally applicable to legislation for the states and for other territory belonging to the United States. The application of the Constitution seems to be treated as a single question, and it is apparently taken for granted that it is inconsistent to assert that the power to govern subject territory is derived from the Constitution, and that the limitations of the amendments are inapplicable; positions that are perfectly consistent and reconcilable.

The brief examination of the practicability of the application of the various provisions of the Constitution, and of the lack of necessity for departing from its guaranties, is one of the most convincing parts of the book and is, apart from moral and ethical considerations, a strong answer to those who support the opportunist policy of denying the application of constitutional limitations.

The book will no doubt command the attention of a large number of thoughtful persons who dissent from the present tendency of imperialism in expansion. Being popular in style the work will appeal more to the man of general education than to the lawyer or publicist.

HENRY WOLF BIKLÉ.

Philadelphia.

Factory People and Their Employers. By E. L. SHURY, M. A. Pp. 224. Price, 75 cents. New York: Lentilhon & Co., 1901.

In contrast with the numerous histories of strikes and other labor troubles which are constantly appearing is this very interesting little book, the aim of which is to give a brief account of the efforts that are being made by a great many factory owners to share profits by giving "personal advantages." As the introduction of the book states, it deals not with motives, but with facts. These facts are very barely stated, leaving many points which the reader would like to have more fully elaborated. Mention is made of efforts of some sort or other which have been made in about ninety large concerns in all parts of the country. The author shows that in the case of the factories under discussion, at least—and he sees no reason why the rule should not be a general one—improvements in working conditions, provisions for the personal comfort of employees, and for mental and physical training, have resulted in a better feeling of workers to employers, and in many cases in material increase of production. Particular stress is laid on the provision made in these factories for women workers, show-

ing the possibility of making conditions such that, even in this work, they may retain the charm of their womanhood.

After treating the question from the point of view of the employer the author gives some examples of the measures which workmen, stimulated by the employers' efforts, have undertaken in their own behalf. These take the form of clubs, literary and musical societies, co-operative buying, building and loan associations, all conducted with great success. In recapitulation he shows that results have been most valuable to employer, employee and public; giving to the first an increase of production, to the second fuller and happier lives, and to the community at large better work and better citizens. To corroborate his statements concerning the advantage to every one of such humanitarian efforts, Mr. Shuey gives extracts from letters from the heads of such prominent companies as the National Cash Register Company, the H. J. Heintz Company, and the Cleveland Hardware Company. The last of these writes: "The money will come back in the shape of increased output and better work." Letters from labor organizations testify to their great appreciation of the efforts.

The book is well illustrated with photographs of factory club-houses, "rest-rooms," dining-rooms, prize gardens, etc., which furnish a better idea than words could of the lines along which the factories discussed are working. While not so complete as might be desired, the book will be found of great value because it is the only place one can go for a general *résumé* of this phase of factory study.

Philadelphia.

C. D. SCULLY.

The Expansion of the American People, Social and Territorial. By EDWIN ERLE SPARKS. Pp. 450. Price, \$2.00. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1900.

The intention of this book, as expressed by the preface, has been "to collect the local history of the American people into one volume." In this task the author has attempted altogether too much for a small volume, but within the limits of possibility he has done his work well. He begins with the preparation of Europe for expansion in the fifteenth century, devotes one chapter to the efforts of Spain to establish herself in the western hemisphere, then takes up the development of the English colonies and later treats of the growth of the American nation. Thirty-three pages are devoted to the English colonies, including a study of their social and economic life and the struggle between the French and English for the Mississippi valley. The expansion of the United States is next considered in the following order: Kentucky and Tennessee, the Northwest territory, the Southern and Southwestern acquisitions of the United States, the relation

of improvements in transportation to the development of the West and South, the acquisition of Oregon, Texas and California, the struggle for Kansas and Nebraska, and the expansion of the colonial system. Subordinate to these principal topics are chapters devoted to pioneer life on the frontier, the intellectual development of the people, American utopias and reformers, and the increase of American well-being. The chapters devoted to the three topics last mentioned, as well as those devoted to the colonial system, leave much to be desired, are not essential to the main theme, and might well have been omitted. It may also be fairly urged in criticism that the book lacks a certain coherence of development and closeness of connection which the reader would welcome in such a discussion. In his attempt to give a vivid picture of the social and economic life of the American people, the author has too often lost sight of the necessity for historical sequence. When this is said, however,—and the reviewer has no disposition to urge it as a serious defect,—the book is deserving of high praise for its accurate portrayal of scenes and incidents to which the American reader of history is too seldom introduced. The following quotation is a fair illustration of the excellence of the author's work. It describes the early settlers in the Ohio valley (pp. 137, 138):

"These seekers for fortune in a new land were of varying degrees of prosperity. The thrifty New Englander was present with his compactly arranged effects, his clean and neatly clad family and a certain stern austerity showing in every action. . . . From the uplands of Pennsylvania or Virginia had come a family of Irish who were careless of manners, the children half clad, and the most prominent and disturbing bit of furniture a jug of home-distilled whisky. There was also the gaunt 'poor white' of Virginia or the Carolinas, with good blood in his veins, yet the victim of centuries of competition with slave labor. He had now ventured with his numerous household to a new home in the 'gub'ment' lands. He commonly had long, black hair, swore loudly, chewed tobacco and smoked, whilst his shrill-voiced help-meet confined herself to her pipe. Mingling with the crowd was the Yankee peddler, with his nasal voice and his eye keen for the chance of a gain. His tinware, Dutch ovens and wooden clocks were urged upon the immigrants as absolute necessities in the land to which they were bound. The 'speculator,' marked by his shrewd eye and prosperous dress, grew eloquent in his descriptions of the richness of the lands he offered for a song. . . . There was no limit of age to these birds of passage. Travelers have described overtaking old couples of sixty years bound into the West solely on this excuse: 'Well, our children were all grown up and married, and we had no ties, so we just packed up and followed the crowd.'"

The book abounds in similar sketches, many of them told in the language of contemporaries and giving, at a glance, a clear-cut idea of the social life of different periods. A praiseworthy innovation is the use of copious illustrations from contemporary and modern sources, which, in connection with the numerous maps and diagrams, supplement the text in a very satisfactory way. The author has considerably refrained from scientifically punishing his readers by an overuse of footnotes, although even his moderation can be accounted excess. "The Expansion of the American People" is a book which is unique of its kind and which sets a high standard for those who come after.

EDWARD SHERWOOD MEADE.

University of Pennsylvania.

Studien zur Geschichte der Englischen Lohnarbeiter. By GUSTAF F. STEFFEN. Erster Band, erster Teil. Pp. 176. Price, 4 mk. Stuttgart: Hobbing und Büchle, 1900.

Die Wohnungsinspektion und ihre Ausgestaltung durch das Reich. By HANS FREIHERRN VON DER GOLTZ. Pp. xii, 104. Price, 1.5 mk. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900.

The economic history of England has been a favorite subject of investigation, almost as much so on the part of Continental writers as Englishmen themselves. The latest contribution to this subject is a two-volume work by a Swedish writer, G. F. Steffen, of which the book under review forms one-third of the first volume. A ten-years' residence in England, during which period he published three popularly written books on English conditions, constitutes the basis of the author's claim for a hearing. In the preparation of the present volume he has made liberal use of such works as Rogers, Tooke, Cunningham, Ashley and Maine, as well as the parliamentary blue-books. Mr. Steffen pays most attention to the changes which have taken place in the standard of life of the English laborers, and promises to show how these are connected with the legal and social status of the workers. More than half of the present volume is, however, devoted to a theoretical discussion of method and definition of terms. The historical part takes the reader—if he gets that far—to about the middle of the fourteenth century, and is devoted to a description of industrial conditions under feudalism. While written with the painstaking industry of a German, it is unfortunately characterized also by tiresome prolixity and a minute discussion of details that might well have been relegated to footnotes or omitted altogether. Of the present section of the work the best part is that dealing with wages

and prices, and the discussion of the purchasing power of labor during the fourteenth century. Perhaps the future portions of the work may prove more interesting, but, compared with such a work as Held's unfinished contribution to English economic and industrial history, the advance volume of Mr. Steffen's book would hardly induce perusal of the remainder.

In May, 1898, there was organized in Frankfurt a. M. a "Union for Imperial Housing Legislation," with the purpose of bettering the housing conditions of the laboring classes by means of legislation, imperial if possible. During the year following its organization the members published a program and a number of brochures, armed with which they appeared at the eleventh evangelical-social congress at Karlsruhe. Here they were urged to prepare detailed and accurate information as to the conditions and needs, and accordingly undertook the publication of a series of nine monographs on various phases of the housing problem. Of this series the first number is that on "Housing Inspection." The author, a member of the city council of Strassburg, advocates compulsory inspection under imperial law as the best solution of the problem. At present mandatory inspection exists only in Hesse and Hamburg. In Baden, Prussia, Württemberg and Saxony satisfactory laws have been enacted, but as their execution is entirely permissive they are but little enforced. Special dwelling-house inspectors are to be found only in Hamburg. Granted that further legislation compelling inspection is desirable, it can be had only in one of three ways: by imperial law, by state statute or by municipal ordinance. Of these the author does not mention the last possibility. The second he rejects as insufficient, in spite of the fact that thirty-two out of forty-three cities which answered his request for their views on this point favored state rather than imperial legislation. He then justifies at some length his position in favor of an imperial law, and sketches the main points which would have to be covered. In an appendix is given the draft of a proposed imperial bill, together with extracts from a number of existing state laws on building inspection.

The monograph, though brief and narrow in scope, is good. The author does not claim that he has indicated the final solution of the problem. His is rather the negative remedy. In addition to legislation there is needed the positive relief which can be afforded only by the construction of a sufficient number of improved houses. These are conclusions which can be applied to the United States as well as to Germany.

ERNEST L. BOGART.

Oberlin College.

Le Catholicisme Social. By MAX TURMAN. Pp. 334. Price, 6 fr.
Paris: Felix Alcan, 1901.

The book of Professor Turman describes the origin, growth and partial success of an important movement inaugurated in Germany by the Catholic Bishop, Baron von Ketteler, and sanctioned as to its main features by Leo XIII. in his encyclical *on the condition of workmen* (May 15, 1891). The movement did not remain confined to one country, it spread in all directions until it has become truly international. In England, the organization was under the guidance of Messrs. Hughes, Charles Kingsley and Dennison Maurice. These gentlemen were commonly called Christian Socialists. In Germany an organization was begun by Drs. Todd and Stöcker: the members were called Evangelical Socialists, but their efforts were not very successful, owing probably to the fact that their aims as well as their principles were not sufficiently definite. Those who followed the leadership of Bishop von Ketteler, by forming an alliance with the centre party, gained a considerable influence, and obtained legislation which was very favorable to the workingmen. In France, the organization was thoroughly and frankly Roman Catholic, but this decided attitude did not prevent its members from combining with men of other denominations, or even with infidels, when the common purpose was to obtain legislation which promoted the good of workmen without conflicting with justice or with religion. In the congress of Zurich (August, 1897), ninety-eight Catholic delegates sat side by side with one hundred and sixty-five socialists. But it would be a great error to consider the *Catholicisme Social* as a sort of mild socialism. The members of that organization are not Agrarian socialists, for they hold that the exclusive ownership of parcels of land, either in commonalty or in severalty is perfectly legitimate, and they say emphatically that the state must protect the landowners just as strongly as the owners of any other kind of property. Moreover they advise, when practicable, and when it can be done without interfering with vested rights, the division of land into small lots or holdings to be distributed among workmen and become family homesteads, which should be entailed if possible, and remain free from legal seizure, so that the family should always have a home. The permanence of the family relations is one of the chief purposes which they keep in view. They are not socialists of the school of Karl Marx or Lassalle, for they tell the workmen very plainly not only that labor has its rights and workmen must not be treated as machines, and that their labor is not a mere commodity, but also that capital has its rights which must be respected.

However, they would make the laws against usury more stringent, check speculation, and prohibit the exchange of commodities which

have merely a speculative value. With the so-called professional socialists they have this in common: they believe that the functions of the state are not merely negative, and that *laissez faire* is not the last word of political economy. They strongly advocate co-operation, profit sharing, conciliation and arbitration. They think that their plans, in order to be successful, need international action, and a vigorous campaign of education carried on in every civilized country, simultaneously if possible. Whether their plans shall ultimately succeed is the secret of the future, but that their ideals are noble and that their plans deserve the attention of social philosophers and political economists will be readily admitted by all those who read with attention the work of Professor Turman. Should it be translated, a careful analytical index and alphabetical index should be added on account of the multitude and diversity of the documents which are quoted, many of which are not easily found elsewhere.

R. I. HOLAIND.

Georgetown College.

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NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

AMERICAN CITIES.

City Government in Arkansas.¹—Municipal corporations in Arkansas are divided into cities of the first and second classes, and incorporated towns. Cities of the first class are required to have, according to the federal census or a state census, a population in excess of 5,000. Cities of the second class have a population lying between 2,500 and 5,000. On satisfactory evidence with reference to the possession of the required population a board composed of the Governor, Attorney-General, and Secretary of State may raise an incorporated town to the rank of a city of the second class, and a city of the second class to the rank of a city of the first class. The constitution gives the legislature power to pass laws restricting the power of taxation, assessment, borrowing money, and contracting debts, in the case of cities, with a view to preventing the abuse of these powers. Under this provision they are prohibited from levying a tax exceeding in any one year five mills on the dollar on the assessed valuation; cities are, however, permitted to levy an additional five mills when this is necessary to pay off indebtedness existing before the constitution of 1874 was adopted. The chief difference between a city of the second class and a city of the first class, as regards governmental organization, is that the latter distinguishes three departments of government, while the former gives executive power and judicial power to the mayor. All contracts and purchases on behalf of the city are, in the case of cities of the first class, made by a Board of Public Affairs. This is composed of the mayor and two citizens chosen by the council. This board has no power to bind the city to any obligation in excess of \$50.00 unless the consent of the council has first been obtained. The ultimate control over the charters of the cities is in the hands of the legislature, which may amend the charter of the city, enlarge or diminish its powers, extend or limit its boundaries, divide the same or abolish it altogether without the consent of the inhabitants of the territory. (*Eagle v. Beard*, 33 Ark. 497.)

Cities are empowered to provide for waterworks, street railways, and lighting facilities. In this connection franchises may be granted to private companies. Provision is also made for city ownership. When it is decided to create such utilities under city management, a

¹ Contributed by Professor Simon J. McLean, University of Arkansas.

board of three commissioners known as the Improvement District Board is created by the city council. This board has general control. It may borrow money in anticipation of the sums to be raised by taxation for the completion of these works; and money may also be borrowed on the security of the plants themselves. By a law of 1893 it is provided that when waterworks, gasworks, or electric-light works have been completed by such a board, then the city shall have full power to operate and maintain them. In the policy pursued by the cities toward these utilities so far private ownership has been favored. Franchises, varying from ten years in the case of an electric-light plant to fifty years in the case of a street railway, have been granted, the city receiving no bonus for the franchise and no right to participate in the profits. In a number of cases the waterworks have been operated by the cities, and quite successfully. The city of Little Rock has for a number of years had a very efficient electric-light plant under city ownership. At present the question of city ownership of street railways is attracting attention. It is an issue in the pending election in Little Rock. A bill has been introduced in the legislature empowering cities to own and operate street railways. There is a growing feeling in favor of municipal ownership. A recent letter from the mayor of one of the smaller cities, dealing with this matter, contained the statement "We want to own the whole thing."

New York.—The past four months have seen many interesting changes affecting local government and public affairs in the city of New York. Investigating committees, reform movements, legislation and decisions of the courts have combined to make a bewildering complication of events.

Investigating Committees. Late in 1900 two investigating committees came into existence, as the result of disclosures of intolerably vicious conditions in various parts of the city, particularly in the thickly populated lower part of the east side of the Borough of Manhattan. One of these committees, consisting of fifteen members, was appointed under resolution of a meeting of citizens held in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce. The committee organized in December, with Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr., as chairman. The other committee was appointed under resolution of the executive committee of Tammany Hall, with Mr. Lewis Nixon as chairman, the four other members being faithful Tammany men. This committee was commonly called the Tammany Purity Committee. It did a large amount of talking, furnished the evidence upon which the successful raid of one pool-room was made, issued a report of no importance and disbanded. The Committee of Fifteen has continued to work, with the avowed pur-

pose of showing that the criminal practices of pool-room keepers and gambling-house keepers, which have been carried on almost openly and with little intervention, can be stopped, and that the failure of the police to do their duty in these matters is the result of corruption. The only publicity given to the work of the committee is that which results from its raids upon pool-rooms and gambling-houses. The committee has made a number of such raids upon warrants, and the keepers of gambling-houses and pool-rooms have been so alarmed that they have ceased to attempt to do business.

Charter Revision. The Charter Revision Commission made its final report to the governor on the first of December, as required by the law creating the commission. The work of the commission is generally regarded as excellent, particularly in view of the insufficient time allowed. The amendments proposed are now before the legislature.¹ Many organizations of citizens urge the enactment of the revision as a whole. It will probably be passed with certain changes. The amendments would (1) give to the mayor full power of removal throughout his term; (2) provide an indefinite term for appointive officials; (3) make the municipal legislature a single chamber, while recognizing and developing the board of estimate and appointment as an "upper house" with fiscal control and having initiative power; (4) increase the control of department finances by the comptroller; (5) give a single head to the police department and separate from it the bureau of elections. The revision would abolish the present central board of public improvements, which has been a body of small value, and would readjust the administrative powers and duties of the city government in a common-sense manner well designed to bring the things to be done and the machinery for doing them into working relations such as the present charter has failed to develop. In the same way, the provisions as to the borough presidents, officers who have done practically nothing, and the local boards of improvements, which have existed only as a useless complication in the municipal machinery, would give to these officers and boards real power and duties of a definite and useful character. The present charter is very largely a body of ordinances and petty regulations. The revision would continue in force sections of this nature, only until the municipal assembly should adopt appropriate ordinances in their place. The result would be to destroy, in large part, the excuse for "charter tinkering." Perhaps the weakest part of the revision is in the provisions as to the board of aldermen. This large body would

¹ Since this note was written the amendments, substantially as here outlined, have been passed, signed by the Governor, and vetoed by the Mayor of New York City, and passed again over his veto.—ED.

be elected entirely by single districts. The corrective tendencies of large districts each electing several candidates have not been recognized by the commission, and no provision is made for the election at large of any other member than the president.

Governor's Message. In his annual message to the legislature, Governor Odell urged the desirability of greater economy in the affairs of New York City, pointing out particularly the extravagant remuneration of certain county officers within the city; recommended "the substitution of a single-headed police commission for the city of New York, such commissioner to be the chief of the police of the city, to be appointed by the mayor, and subject to removal either by the mayor or the governor, and that the present office of a separate chief of police be abolished"; and advised the enactment of laws that would enable the city of New York to control its own water supply, and that would give the city "the same rights that are afforded other municipalities for securing an additional water supply."

The Municipal Campaign. The lines upon which the municipal campaign culminating in the election next November will be conducted have not yet been laid down. The Citizens' Union, the principal campaigning body, will hold a convention in April. The convention is expected to arrange for the appointment of a citizens' committee of seventy, to conduct the independent campaign.¹

St. Louis.²—*State Legislation.* The recent municipal campaign has again forcibly called attention to what appears to be a systematic attempt to corrupt the ballot in St. Louis. The election frauds which have been of late carried on led to a presentment by the February Grand Jury which said, among other things: "We cannot conceive of a more serious state of affairs than that which existed in this city at the time of the election in November, and which we believe still exists to a very great extent." It is the belief of many that the wholesale corruption of the ballot thus indicated is the legitimate result of special legislation enacted by the state legislature with the deliberate purpose of changing the political complexion of St. Louis, which has for some time been republican, while the state is always strongly democratic.

In 1899 the state legislature enacted for cities having a population of over 300,000 (*i. e.* for St. Louis) a new election law and a new police law. The election law known as the Nesbit law was to a great extent a re-enactment, but it contained several provisions which when taken together were calculated to excite suspicion. These provisions, briefly stated, were as follows: (1) The governor was given the power of

¹ Contributed by James W. Pryor, Esq.

² Contributed by Professor Robert F. Hoxie, Washington University, St. Louis.

appointing all the members of the board of election commissioners, which board, by a majority vote, was authorized to appoint all election judges and clerks. (2) The law allowed city-hall registration under the supervision of a clerical force appointed by the board of commissioners, and instead of providing for the posting of the published lists a sufficient time before election, it was so worded that lists could be obtained only on demand. (3) The power of the board of commissioners over registration was made complete by constituting it a court of appeals to decide all cases where registration was challenged. (4) The judges appointed by the commissioners were to have, of course, immediate authority over voting. They were to decide cases of challenge at the polls, and were authorized to call upon the police to enforce their decisions, while the law removed the specific penalties previously placed upon police interference with legal voters; and (5) to complete the authority of the board of commissioners over voting, it was constituted a tribunal for deciding all cases arising out of fraudulent voting.

The police law, passed at the same session as the Nesbit law, served to insure that policemen in sufficient numbers to enforce the orders of the judges of elections, and of the right persuasion, should be at the registration and polling places. This bill created a board of four police commissioners to be appointed by the governor (the mayor of the city to be an *ex-officio* member), which was to have power to appoint an indefinite number of policemen, and it was made unlawful for the city to refuse payment to any or all policemen whom the board of commissioners might appoint.

It is evident that the provisions of these two laws just stated, if unchecked, made it practically possible for the dominant party, through the boards of election and police commissioners, to perpetrate unlimited fraud, both in registration and in voting. As a matter of fact, the only checks actually placed upon the power of the dominant party to perpetrate fraud in registration and in voting were the simple provisions that one of the board of election commissioners appointed by the governor and half of the judges and clerks appointed by the election commissioners should be members of the political opposition. The actual result is what might have been expected. The governor evaded the limitation put upon his appointing power, and through a partisan board, partisan judges, partisan clerks, and a partisan police, election frauds were committed in St. Louis that would be considered disgraceful in New York under Tammany control. The indignation aroused by the wholesale corruption at the November election has forced the legislature during the last session to amend the Nesbit law. The amendments, however, fail to eliminate the essentially weak points

of the law, and St. Louis has before her a hard struggle for home rule and purity of elections.

Baltimore.—*The Maryland Ballot Law.*¹ The Maryland Legislature in a special session of seventeen legislative days, lasting from March 6 to 28, passed new ballot and election laws, which, it is claimed, will disfranchise from 40,000 to 60,000 voters. The laws of the session have not yet been officially printed, but from the newspaper accounts the following facts are gathered: The old form of official ballots placed the names of candidates in parallel party columns, with the party name and emblem at the top, and the voter who could not read, was able at least to vote a straight ticket by putting his cross-mark beside the picture of Lincoln or Jackson; an illiterate could demand that the two election clerks enter the polling booth and mark his ballot according to the voter's directions; and a person once legally a resident of the state and not voting elsewhere could return to the state and exercise the right of suffrage although not actually an inhabitant of the state.

The new laws provide for a ballot modelled after that adopted by Massachusetts in the act of 1898; the names of the candidates are arranged in alphabetical order under the name of each office, with the name of the party printed beside that of the candidate, but party emblems are forbidden. The voter must mark each candidate separately, the old straight ticket possibility of course disappearing with the adoption of an alphabetical arrangement; and unless the voter is physically unable to mark his ballot he may not receive assistance from the election officials. Ballots improperly marked are not to be interpreted according to the intention of the voter, as was done under the old law, but to be thrown out altogether. Further, a more stringent system of registration was adopted in order to cut out some of the non-resident voters. In addition to the ballot and registration provisions, the legislature also passed a law for the taking of a new census of the state, claiming huge frauds by the national Republican census-takers in the interest of their own party; and acts for the redistricting of Baltimore and for the erection of a Baltimore city sewer commission which will have the charge of public works, it is said, amounting in value to \$20,000,000.

This new election legislation does not expressly impose an educational qualification as does the Massachusetts act, but the complicated form of the ballot amounts to such a restriction. It is admitted by both parties that the new legislation will disfranchise many of the present voters, perhaps to the number of 50,000, of whom by far the larger part will be negroes. The Republicans, in an appeal to the people of the state, claim that the entire legislation of this session is

¹ See also *ANNALS*, March, 1901, p. 171.

a party measure, aiming through negro disfranchisement, partial registration, party census-taking, gerrymandering, and a partisan sewer commission, to maintain the Democrats in power. The Democrats in turn criticise the national census of the state; claim that the old election law really lends itself to election bribery, and that the Republicans bring into the state at election times thousands of non-residents; and call the present districting act for Baltimore (passed in 1898) as an outrageous fraud, which the new districting measure will remedy. To the objection that the laws will disfranchise many voters, the Democrats reply that Maryland has the best school system south of Pennsylvania, and if the negroes are uneducated, it is their own fault; while the disfranchised whites must be sacrificed for the general welfare of the state.¹

Minneapolis.²—*New Charter.* The proposed new charter, noticed in the ANNALS for November last, was rejected at the polls by a decisive majority. The total vote upon the proposition was so small that the charter could not have been put into operation had the majority been the other way. The chief influences contributing to the defeat of the proposition appear to have been (1) the opposition of organized labor, which claimed that its interests were not sufficiently secured; (2) the opposition of politicians bidding for the support of the charter's real opponents; (3) the indifference of voters who were too much absorbed in the other issues of the election to give any thought to the charter question. The prospect for securing in the near future, a new charter under the present statute, appears very dubious; apparently the requisite total vote upon the proposition cannot be secured at a general election, and a special election finds little favor on account of the expense involved. An attempt is being made to secure a few features of the rejected charter, *e. g.*, the merit system in the police department, by action of the state legislature.

New Primary Law.—Owing to the Republican landslide the last election did not afford a satisfactory test of the influence of the new nomination system upon the subsequent election. The Republican ticket carried several objectionable candidates, whose defeat might have been expected in a fairly close election under the old system of nominations. All of them were elected, but it is impossible to determine whether their success was due exclusively to the landslide or to the landslide *plus* the influence of the new nomination system. Some close observers believe that the tendency of the new system is to carry through the whole party ticket, regardless of its *personnel*; the voters argue, say these observers, that the nominations having been made by

¹ Contributed by Albert E. McKinley, Ph. D., Philadelphia.

² Contributed by Prof. Frank Maloy Anderson, University of Minnesota.

the party, not by the politicians, that fact absolves them from any obligations to inquire into the qualifications of the party candidates. The vote obtained by some of the objectionable candidates (for they ran behind their ticket less than was expected) would seem to sustain this view, but nothing certain can be determined until there is a closer election. Several propositions for the amendment of the primary law are now before the state legislature. All of them relate to the details of the law; there is no suggestion of altering its fundamental principles. The greater number of these propositions are intended to prevent the members of one political party from participating in the selection of the nominees of the other party. In the last primary election, as was perhaps inevitable at the first trial of the system, the rules for voting and counting were not strictly observed; in consequence there is a widespread belief that at least one of the Republican nominees was selected by the aid of Democratic votes. The proposed amendments look to the abolition of this defect in the law.

Mayoralty Contest.—The late mayoralty contest presented an interesting phenomenon for the student of municipal government. In addition to the regular Republican and Democratic nominees there was an independent candidate of exceptional fitness and backed by powerful influences of the "good government" sort. Both of the regular party nominees were objectionable to large sections of their parties and the independent candidate was able to obtain written pledges of support from over 10,000 voters, *i. e.*, from about thirty per cent of the electorate. Yet on election day the independent candidate obtained only a little over 8,000 votes and stood third in the race. The result would seem to demonstrate that in this city no independent candidate can compete successfully with regular party nominees at an election where local questions are liable to be influenced by state and national issues.

Spoils System.—Minneapolis has recently witnessed an application of the spoils principle on a scale seldom, if ever, equaled in recent municipal history. On the day of his inauguration the new Republican mayor removed 105 out of 210 members of the police force and appointed new men in their places. No charges against the removed men were made public; the open and avowed purpose was to make the force Republican; the real purpose, it is generally believed, was to make the police force an effective agency for promoting the personal political interests of the mayor.

Day Labor.—During the summer of 1900 all the city paving was laid by day labor. The city engineer reports that the experiment was eminently satisfactory. The men worked but eight hours per day and were paid the maximum market rates of wages, yet the cost per yard

was less than in previous seasons under the contract system, and the city engineer believes that the work was done better.

Omaha.—*The Official Census.*¹ The results of the twelfth census, as related to this city, have attracted widespread attention. Out of a total of thirty American cities, having a population of over 100,000 each, Omaha is the only one which shows a decrease from the figures of 1890. However, a comparison of the federal census of 1900 with other data, such as the registration list of November, 1900, the city directory for 1900, and the school census, would indicate that the twelfth census has under-counted Omaha, whose actual population shows a substantial gain of nearly twenty-five per cent since 1890. It has long been a subject of current remark that the 140,000 ascribed to Omaha by the eleventh census were far in excess of the real number of its inhabitants. There were many circumstances which encouraged the padding of that census. While it was being taken, the state was in the throes of a political campaign involving the submission of a prohibitory amendment to the constitution, and it was the desire of the anti-prohibitionists to make the growth of the state and its cities appear as large as possible, so as to contrast with the neighboring states of Kansas and Iowa, both of which were then under prohibition, and neither of which had then any large cities. A second motive for padding the census, was found in the desire of politicians, into whose hands the machinery of the census had largely fallen, to secure an increased number of representatives in congress, and also in the electoral college. These and similar causes, operated to bring about a census which the candid, thoughtful and intelligent citizens of Omaha believed, at the time, to be fraudulent and grossly exaggerated.

The League of California Municipalities² held its third annual convention in San Francisco, December 12, 13 and 14, Mayor James D. Phelan, of that city, presiding. Secretary H. A. Mason, in his annual report, described the growth of the League from thirteen constituent cities in December, 1898, to sixty-three cities in December, 1900. In connection with the office of secretary, a bureau of information for city officials was established over a year ago. This department has greatly increased the usefulness of the secretary, and with each year the effort will be to make this collection of data concerning municipal administration more complete. Upwards of fifty inquiries from city officials were answered during the past year, including questions relating to legal precedents. The growth of interest in municipal affairs was reviewed in the following words: "The National Municipal League reports 463 organizations engaged in municipal

¹ Contributed by Charles Sumner Lobingier of the Omaha bar.

² Contributed by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

work. There are state organizations of municipalities and municipal officers in the following states: California, Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Kansas, Wisconsin, Connecticut and Texas. Some of these are merely social organizations, but the majority are organized for practical purposes, and some of them are doing exceptionally good work. I doubt, however, if there is one better organized or having a larger membership than has the California League."

A. H. Breed, of the City of Oakland, submitted the report of the committee on uniform municipal accounting, in which that subject was carefully discussed. An interesting debate followed its presentation. Other reports from the committees on streets, law and legislation were received and discussed. Among the subjects treated in the various papers were "The New Public Library Law," "Municipal Elections," "Water Works," "Weeds and Street Sprinkling," "Electric Lighting Contracts," "Disposal of Franchises" and "What the Cities are Doing." Mr. Joseph Hutchinson, of Palo Alto, was elected president, and Mr. H. A. Mason, re-elected secretary.

Duluth.—*Municipal Advertising.* The friends of municipal ownership of public utilities have generally to encounter not only the obstacles inherent in the business undertakings themselves, but also the opposition of the press which delights to call attention to the shortcomings of the city authorities. When the press is not actually captious in its criticism, it is necessarily indifferent to the details of public administration. The superintendent of the water and light department of Duluth,¹ has undertaken in a novel way to represent clearly, strongly and enthusiastically the merits of his administration. He issues occasionally *The Gas Jet*, a four-page leaflet. Aside from the "true statement" of the results of municipal administration, there are two pages of airy matter designed to stimulate greater patronage as well as greater popular interest in the people's enterprises. The general principle is certainly commendable that administration depends upon education—in default of other agents the city officers might well regard an interesting report as an important factor in educating the public with respect to municipal needs and municipal progress.

FOREIGN CITIES.

Municipal Socialism in France.²—Two kinds of municipal socialism can be conceived: the first consists in the fact that a parish takes entire charge of the direction of certain works, such as tramways, water, gas, electric light, in the discharge of its different public duties;

¹ See *ANNALS*, January, 1901, p. 149.

² Contributed by M. André Siegfried, Paris.

the second resides in the intention of a town-council to interfere in an active way, and with a view to modifying it, with the economical system of commercial and industrial liberty, to suppress some definite branch or to transform it into a parochial monopoly for the advantage of the community, or, without going so far, to protect some mode of production or of exchange at the expense of others, or even to enter into competition with private initiative by the creation of a parochial industry or commerce with the aid of the public funds. The first mode of administration cannot be legitimately called socialistic. From the fact that a parish intends managing alone its patrimony, or what can be considered an appendage to its patrimony, it does not follow that it wishes to encroach upon commercial or industrial liberty, and to parochialize certain branches. To the second manner of proceeding alone can be applied with correctness the name of municipal socialism. The Parochial Law of 1884 is silent on the subject of the parish's powers to conduct enterprises. In the absence, therefore, of positive grants of power, the municipality must be guided by the law of 1791, which proclaimed liberty of commerce, industry and labor. Only such undertakings are consistent with this general provision as can be considered essential to the existence of the municipality. Just where the line is to be drawn has been forced into prominence as a practical problem, by the appearance, since 1892, and especially since 1896, of municipal trading in so-called social parishes.

Roubaix. Since 1892 the social parish of Roubaix has doubled the endowment of the benevolent establishments, instituted school canteens, granted pensions to paupers, established cheap eating-houses, reserved funds for sending workmen back to their birthplaces, erected a widows' city of thirty-five houses, distributed clothes including municipal baby linen, created municipal *crèches*, sent about two thousand children to the maritime hospital of St. Pol's sanatorium, built municipal baths, municipal *sweating* houses, etc. So far we have perhaps only an exaggerated hypertrophy of a public duty, the duty of assistance. Central administrative authority did not interfere until Roubaix proposed to create a municipal chemical factory; this was vetoed on the ground that it was competition with private industry and not the mere exercise of a public duty.

Dijon. Dijon, conquered by the socialists in 1896, escaped from them in 1900. During that interval the municipality established *crèches* and school canteens, obtained from chemists a reduction of 50 per cent for the assisted poor and 33 per cent for the syndicated workmen, and inaugurated a subsidy equal to twice their assessment to the syndicated workmen insured against stoppage with a limit of two francs a day.

Poitiers. In 1898, the town council of Poitiers, with a view to obtaining a lower price of bread, decided to encourage the creation of co-operative societies for bread-making and flour-sifting. A trust of 10,000 francs was voted to be put at the disposition of an initial co-operative society. The industrial bakers asked the prefect, and on his refusal, the state council, to annul this vote, as bearing upon an object foreign to the functions of the town council. The state council granted the bakers' claim, and its decision was preceded by the following opinion, delivered by the government commissioner, M. Rouien:

The Limits to Municipal Trading. When the law is silent, it is the business of the state council to settle the limits, in a great measure through the examination of the powers of the local assemblies. The latter cannot, as a principle, follow a business or an industry, firstly, because it constitutes a modification in the economical system of the freedom of commerce; secondly, because it is not without inconvenience that the municipal finances are engaged in the hazards of commercial enterprises. For that reason the state council has not admitted the creation of municipal chemical establishments, and has refused to license the creation of departmental funds for insurance with premiums against fire. But, when the question refers to an industry which, by its nature, constitutes a real monopoly, such as the distribution of water and gas, nothing opposes its being instituted as a public duty. Or if it is established that an undertaking is essential to the protection of the public health, the council will sanction it. On the other hand, the town and general councils cannot, on principle, devote the parochial funds to subsidies in favor of private individuals for the sake of settling the relations between producers and consumers, or between masters and workmen. Thus the state council, at a general meeting, annulled the decisions of the general councils which granted—not aid to the families of strikers, which aid might constitute acts of charity—but subsidies to the strikers themselves during the strike. Again, when the aim is not to interfere with the economical conflicts, but to minister to pressing needs in view of public health or alimentation, in case of the insufficiency of the means furnished by private initiative, the exceptional interference of the town councils is legitimate and legal.

The government commissioner, applying this principle to the affair of the co-operative bakehouse of Poitiers, observed that there existed in Poitiers none of those exceptional cases which can justify the vote for a subsidy. The essay of partial socialization of the bakehouse business attempted by the town of Poitiers was not therefore included, with regard to the actual state of legislation, in the town council's powers, and the municipal ordinance was annulled.

London.—*Sanitary Administration.* The Medical Officer of Health for the Administrative County of London has just issued the report for the year 1899. In addition to the formal report there are three appendices, presenting respectively: (1) Statistics relative to notifiable diseases in the sanitary areas of London in the nine years 1891-99; (2) facts respecting the sanitary condition and administration of Kensington; and (3) respecting the sanitary condition of cemeteries and burial-grounds in and near London. From the last it appears that London requires fifty-five acres per annum for burial lots, plus nine acres for paths and sixteen for neutral belts, or in all about eighty acres. The economy of crematoria is obvious. It is shown that crematoria are authorized in Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, Hull, and St. John's, Woking.

The inspectors of the London County Council have sole responsibility for only one or two branches of inspection. For the most part, local district inspectors attend to the routine inspection of nuisances. The results are given in the present report, but with less uniformity of classification than usual. The county inspectors made 23,999 inspections of cowsheds, dairies and milksheds and instituted fifty-five prosecutions; 5,082 inspections of offensive businesses, resulting in ten prosecutions; 28,615 inspections of common lodging-houses, 1,162 of which were by night, fines to the amount of \$950 being imposed. Twenty-two districts report the registration and inspection of over 7,000 rented houses, while one district of only 61,000 population reported 7,920 inspections.

With the exception of Bristol and Bradford, London's zymotic mortality rate is the lowest of the English towns having a population of 200,000 or more. The infant mortality, usually regarded as a reliable index of sanitary administration, is the lowest in any except Bristol. The death-rate of London is 19.8 per 1,000 living, just 1 per 1,000 greater than that of Philadelphia and 1.4 greater than that of New York. If these three cities could reduce their mortality rate to that of Amsterdam (15.3) they would save each year over 38,000 lives.

Of special interest to students of the social and economic phases of municipal administration are the tables which show the number of lives and the amount of life capital gained by the decrease of mortality. Taking the decade 1881-90 as a basis of comparison, improved sanitation in London gained for London in the years 1895-99 on the average of 6,610 lives and the amount of life capital of 249,740 years. Add to this the capital saving represented by decreased sickness, and there is material proof to the most sordid taxpayer that there is no better investment than to procure efficient sanitary service. Incidentally it must be apparent that the educational function of the sanitarian's report is socially as important as inspection and prosecution.

II. SOCIOLOGY.

The Organic Theory of Society.—In an article in the March number of the "American Journal of Sociology," on the Organic Theory of Society, Prof. A. H. Lloyd, of the University of Michigan, attempts to show how that theory is an outgrowth of the contract theory of society. He considers the two conceptions as nearly co-ordinate—the contract theory emphasizing the origin and support of society, while the organic theory deals with society's inner nature. The two theories are considered as indicative of society's interests at different times. When the contract theory was generally accepted, people were interested more in origins, while now their interests centre more in the character of institutions.

The writer excludes the sociological, biological, and economic concepts of society as an organism, and proceeds to treat the subject as an historical study—that is, of man's development under law and government. He endeavors to show: (1) "That the contract theory, like any theory in history which might be mentioned, has quite outgrown itself, the contract that makes society proving to be only a political philosopher's name for the fundamental lawfulness of nature or—as the same thing—for the natural respect of man, a rational being, for law as such; (2) Through this deepening of the conception of the social contract the organic and thoroughly naturalistic theory has been evolved, and (3) that—particularly in response to this doctrine of equality among men—the result in both theory and practice has been greater unity of man with himself, as in the character of the individual of to-day; greater unity of man with his fellow man, notably in the development of a conscious internationalism; and greater unity of man with nature in industrialism."

"The organic theory," he says, "revolves about the conception of the state as original and natural, instead of artificial and supernatural." To this theory contract is only mediative or definitive, and he then discusses the character of its mediation. "With the rise and evolution of the contract theory, and this is to say, with the rise and evolution of constitutional governments, political life, changing from absolute monarchy to limited monarchy, or even to avowed democracy, has developed very positively along the lines: (1) of personal and national individuality; (2) of national and international organization; (3) of industrial life which has relied upon man's success in identifying himself with nature. These laws of development are inseparable, and mark the threefold mediation of the social contract."

From the point of view of political development the discussion is

interesting, but it throws but little light upon the problems with which the sociologist deals.

J. E. H.

Dr. Folkmar's book "*Leçons d'Anthropologie*" is a series of lectures delivered at the new University of Brussels in 1899. In his preface the author gives some account of the genesis of his ideas, and declares that sociology includes more than phenomena of a strictly social nature; for the purposes of social application, the study of the facts of individual life seem to him to be just as important as purely social data. He therefore adopted the term, "philosophical anthropology" as covering all the manifestations of human life, and as distinguished from the narrower field of physical anthropology. The immense field thus marked out is systematically discussed in the nature and relation of its various parts, with the application of a logic far more rigorous than is usually found in books of this sort. There are more startling statements and conclusions in it than sociological banalities; and the author has been careful to state that his results are tentative rather than definitive. Indeed, the book treats of such a multiplicity of complex problems that this could not well be otherwise. But it is so imbued with the spirit of criticism which approaches the most time-honored institutions and the most venerable doctrines with the same confidence as the current problems of social science, that even the readers who will differ from the author in his most important conclusions will doubtless find intellectual stimulus in such sections as those treating of "Criticism of the Sciences" and "The Race."

The first two chapters outline the field of "philosophical anthropology," and establish an essentially subjective classification of the sciences and arts it should include. The author attacks the idea of "science for science sake," and maintains that the rank of sciences should be determined by the directness of their bearing on practical life, by the importance of their contribution to the solution of the problem of human conduct. Man was not created for science, but science for man. Instead of dividing sciences according to their logical or their chronological order, they should be divided according to the needs of human life, that is to say with a view to their relation to the purposes of life and the means necessary for achieving those purposes. The chief task of philosophical anthropology is to apply the data of all sciences to ethical purposes. There must of course be a division of scientific labor, but this division should depend upon the mental nature of the individual scientist rather than upon any cut and dried mathematical partition of subjects. The study of man stands higher than any other study. The progress of his faculties, the consideration of his destiny and the means of realizing that destiny are

far more important matters than the microscopic examination of the implements used by primitive tribes. There should be more specializing in the social sciences than in the physical sciences, because they are more complex and difficult, as well as more important.

Sociology is defined as "that part of philosophical anthropology which studies social phenomena. It includes two objects: a science which embraces the so-called social sciences, that is to say, those which study the economic, political, religious and other aspects of social life; and, in the second place, the art or arts which may be designated as social ethics. Sociology is the science, or rather the philosophy, which studies societies and consociations; it is the science of association. It is an abstract science in the sense that its principles are true at all times and in all places." Further on we are told that "all so-called social phenomena are individual phenomena; they are by their very nature psychical, and can only be explained by the psychology of the individual." Psychology, as thus understood, differs from conventional psychology.

Philosophical anthropology, and the various sciences it includes, offers the basis for ethics. "What shall we do? Which are the acts that most deserve being accomplished? These are questions which belong to the domain of morals. The only adequate reply we can give to them should be based on a knowledge of man and his history.

. . . Ethics, considered as prevision, necessitates a knowledge and understanding of the action of nature on man, and of man on nature. . . . Our habits of thought in this field are so pernicious that it seems absurd to seek a certainty in ethics analogous to that of sciences like physics and mechanics. Yet we can and should reach a certitude of this sort. To demonstrate this will be one of the purposes of this book." Dr. Folkmar's ethics is thus frankly positivist and determinist. Parts of his book indicate a strong individualistic tendency, while others are scarcely compatible with an ultra-individualistic ethics. We are told, for instance, on page 46, that "all social activities will be explained by the fact that they have a certain utility in the satisfaction of the individual's needs"; elsewhere it is said that "reproduction, from a certain point of view, is more important than nutrition, the life of the species being more important than that of the individual, from the moral as well as the philosophical point of view." Survival is declared to be "the fundamental law and the only possible moral aim," it is "the final measure and moral criterion of all actions," and "evolution, particularly evolution in ideation, is the second great explanation and the aim of human life. The essentially biological functions, nutrition above all, are the most important from the moral point of view (p. 42). Co-operation and sociability in

general have a secondary moral value and only contribute to the progress of individualism, considered as an end in itself." Frequently, however, Dr. Folkmar puts the survival of the race above that of the individual. Death is pointed out (p. 235) as one of the individual human activities which may be advantageous to the race; and the law of evolution, always valid for the human race, is not valid for the universe regarded as a whole.

We are justified in doubting whether Dr. Folkmar's positive conclusions have brought us any nearer an ethics "without sanction and without obligation," despite his constant effort to express ethical matters with mathematical exactitude. This desire for "exact" expression has led the author to some peculiar results. "The immediate future" is defined to mean the next fifteen years. The expression "certain" is fixed to mean 95 to 99 cases out of 100; "very probable" means 90 to 95; "probable" means 75; "rather likely," 60; "possible," 50; and "impossible," less than 50. We are told that "we can estimate the moral and intellectual forces of a country by the number of churches, schools and scientific publications." Is it not forcing matters somewhat to declare that "the fundamental law of all science and philosophy, namely that matter and movement are indestructible leads us as a next step to the command: 'Thou shalt not kill?' (p. 74).

It may be unfair to separate these quotations from the context, and perhaps Dr. Folkmar would be the first person to realize their objectionability. His sound critical judgment makes the negative parts of his book singularly strong. His condemnation of methods in vogue in sociology, methods which are a disgrace to science, is not too vigorous. It is perfectly true that "there is a dangerous tendency to use such words as 'race' and 'nation' in an absolute sense, as if they designated a particular being, an organism possessing definite attributes and faculties." "In prehistorics many facts which could not sustain examination are admitted as proofs."

It is a logical consequence of the doctrine that complete life is the ethical end, to refer constantly to physiology, biology and psychology, and to attempt the establishment of a hierarchy and harmony in the diverse functions of life, keeping in view their ethical importance. The author divides human activities, therefore, into two large classes, "primary" and "secondary" activities, each of which is discussed at length, with constant reference to the ethical end. We have numerous sciences of human activity, but they omit the criterion of practical utility. The psychologist should pay more attention to matters of practical importance, to morbid psychology, hypnotism, to child psychology, for example, which should form the basis of peda-

gogy and destroy the senseless routine now in vogue (pp. 107, 112). The economist should cease living in a *tour d'ivoire* of theoretical abstractions, and help us to diagnose and cure the economic ailments of society. Students of political science should renounce the absurd cult of the constitution, give up their feticism in connection with the idea of democracy, and adopt an intellectual attitude of criticism.

Much might be said in objection to Dr. Folkmar's cursory discussion of race conflicts, and especially the indefiniteness of the terms "superiority," "adaptability" and "survival;" issue might be taken, too, in his discussion of education, on the question of identity between the complete life, and increased specialization. Is the life of a modern workman, occupied with one narrowly prescribed activity, when compared with the varied labors of the mediæval laborer, a progress toward the completer, more harmonious life of the individual?¹

Totemism.—The recent investigations of Dr. A. E. Jenks among the Ojibwas confirm the position taken by Mr. Henry Jones Ford in the March number of the *ANNALS* as to the origin and significance of totemism among primitive men. In his story of Ji Shib, although a story, Dr. Jenks narrates accurately and vividly the character of impressions the everyday events make upon the Indian boy as he grows toward manhood. In the preface we are told that "the world of things does not mean to the Indian what it means to us. It is difficult, almost impossible, for him to separate himself from the other, so-called, lower animals." To the animals were imputed all sorts of mysterious powers.

Each person among the Ojibwas, especially the warriors, has a guardian spirit or totem that is responsible for his origin and that guards and aids him during life. As the story goes, on the day when Ji Shib was born a beaver was shot, and its hide was wrapped about the Indian babe. Ever afterward he and it were inseparable—it was his guardian spirit. Again we are told that all Ojibwa boys of a certain age must fast four days and nights in order to dream of some animal or plant which shall be their special guardian spirit. The dreams of Ji Shib seemed to confirm the theory that the good spirits sent the beaver to be his guardian spirit. And he reasoned thus: "Did not the beaver find him at his birth? Had not the beaver's fur wrapped him during babyhood? The beaver had always kept him, and would he not always keep him?" We thus see the imputation of superior power to the particular animal or plant which was responsible for the origin of the individual and which is his guardian spirit. J. E. H.

¹ Contributed by C. W. A. Veditz, Ph. D.

III. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Ohio State Conference on Charity.—Among the eighteen State Conferences of Charities and Correction held within the last six months especial mention should be made of the Ohio Conference. The discussion, much of which was extemporaneous, was upon very definite, concrete problems, such as "Should the state aid in placing children in families, and in the after-supervision of such children?" "Is it the duty of county visitors to let a report go to the local papers before the yearly report, as a whole, is sent to the State Board of Charities?" "Should children be placed near their former homes or at a distance therefrom?" "Does Ohio need a state agent to investigate the circumstances of foreigners who become public charges within one year after their arrival, with a view to having them returned to the countries from which they came?"

The proceedings of the Ohio Conference above mentioned have recently been published in the official Bulletin of the State Board of Charities. A study of this pamphlet would be of service to all who have any responsibility for programs of similar conferences and conventions.

Loans to the Poor.—One of the most vexatious and burdensome impositions upon the poor is the system of loans by chattel mortgages and the extortionate rate of interest charged upon these loans. It is doubtful whether the individual lenders often make exceptional profits from this business, notwithstanding the absurd charges which they make, since the system tempts to dishonesty, and to failure to meet obligations even when there is no such intention on the part of the borrower. An instance which has come under the observation of the writer will illustrate the ordinary procedure in connection with such loans as made in New York City, typical, however, of the business in other American cities as well.

A woman of excellent character and with a reputation for thrift and careful management, in an emergency applied to a loan company for the sum of \$25. She gave her note for this amount but received in cash only \$19, the difference representing the charge for appraisement and other incidental expenses. The law permits the lender to charge 3 per cent a month for the first two months and 2 per cent thereafter for the first year. As a result the loans are made for two months only, and at the end of this period the loan must be repaid and a new loan negotiated with \$5 or \$6 charges for appraisement, etc., as at the time of obtaining the original loan. At the end of four months the bor-

rower had paid in all \$15, only \$4 less than the original amount obtained but with no portion of the principal of her debt as yet discharged, the loan having been twice repeated. The lender considered himself entitled to the entire \$25 with interest at the rate of 36 per cent per annum upon that amount from the time when the loan was made. When asked whether his client was not paying \$40 in return for her \$20 he responded that she was doing nothing of the kind, that according to his method of figuring, he had loaned her \$75!

As there was a possibility of disagreeable publicity, however, he expressed a willingness to compromise for \$15 in cash but desired to regard the remaining \$10 as a contribution to the society which had become interested in the matter.

A case is cited by the Associated Charities of Milwaukee in which a man had paid \$7.50 a month on a loan of \$75, and after having paid \$15 more than the principal still owed the entire \$75.

The Workingmen's Loan Association of Boston, the Buffalo Provident Loan Company, the St. Bartholomew's Loan Agency of New York City are among the attempts to combat this evil by the organization of rival companies upon a business basis, loaning money at a moderate rate. A paper on the subject was presented at the Cincinnati National Conference of Charities and Correction by Miss Mary L. Birtwell, General Secretary of the Associated Charities of Cambridge, Mass., but with the exception of the organization of the State Pawn-ers' Society of Chicago little progress has been made since that time in remedying the evil. The difficulties are greater than in the case of pawnshops, since in the latter the lender has possession of the goods and can thus prevent the borrower from making away with them, and from causing them to deteriorate in value.

Housing Reform.—The movement for housing reform which has had so notable a development in New York during the past two years, resulting in the passing by the legislature of the four bills recommended by the Tenement House Commission, has spread also to other American cities. In Chicago a new society, known as the City Homes Association was formed about a year ago and it has been conducting a scientific and thorough investigation of housing conditions in Chicago. It is understood that a report embodying the result of this investigation will soon be issued setting forth for the first time in a scientific form what the conditions are in that city. A similar investigation has recently been started in Kansas City through the Bureau of Associated Charities; a company having been formed to build small cottages in the outskirts of the city and to remove thereto a number of families now living in the "packing house district." Free transportation for one year has been secured for the heads of these

families and after this period a five-cent fare is to be charged. It is expected that the electric line will bring the men to their work within fifteen minutes. Twelve families are to move out to this colony during this spring. The houses are to contain three or four rooms, each with half an acre of land around them and are to cost from \$450 to \$600. In addition to this scheme for providing suburban homes for the wage-earners of Kansas City, a movement is also being started to secure a proper code of tenement laws and ordinances.

In Philadelphia the Octavia Hill Association, formed about four years ago, is quietly carrying on its successful work. This association buys up small dwellings and tenements of moderate size and puts them in order and properly manages them, making a point of renting them to the really poor people of the city. Many of these houses, before the Octavia Hill Association took hold of them, were dangerous to health and a disgrace to Philadelphia. The change that has taken place under the management of this association is most beneficent. Through a system of proper management and friendly rent collecting the association has accomplished extremely satisfactory results. Dividends of 4 per cent upon the stock have been paid during the past year and the association has no outstanding debts.

There is hardly any large American city in which similar associations should not be formed to manage properly tenement house property, and in which results would not be of incalculable benefit to the laborer.

Charities Directory of Frankfurt a. M.—The first Charities Directory of Frankfurt-on-the-Main has been published by the *Stadtbund der Vereine für Armenpflege und Wohlthätigkeit* of that city. It is a volume of 179 pages and is classified somewhat after the plan of the New York and Boston charities directories. The association which publishes the volume was founded in 1899. Its object is to unite the various charitable and philanthropic agencies of the city and to promote co-operation among them by means of conferences and otherwise. The expenses of the *Stadtbund* are borne by appropriations from the various constituent societies and by voluntary contributions.

Wages in Siam and in Switzerland.—The United States Consular Report for March contains an interesting note on wages and prices in Siam based upon the personal investigations of the consul general. The wages of day laborers are represented to be from fifteen to thirty cents per day in gold, while farm hands earn from \$12 to \$13 and living expenses per season. It is unnecessary to quote the prices of food and articles given in the table since the articles enumerated "do not enter into the living of the laboring man or the mechanic

to any great extent." "The laborer with wages from fifteen to thirty cents a day sits upon the floor in his home, sleeps upon a grass mat, cooks on a box of earth or an earthen crock for a stove, and eats his fish, rice and simple vegetables out of the same dish with his family, without fork or knife or spoon. Eggs, which are very cheap, he has at times; chicken on rare occasions, and . . . beef is almost unknown in the common laborer's meal."

* * * * *

"Nature is most kind in this tropical climate, and yet, with all her gentleness, the death rate among the poor is enormous.

"The mechanics [the majority of whom are Chinese] differ from the laboring classes in that they live together, more closely packed, as tenants, in large bamboo or wooden houses that modern ideas have brought into the city (Bangkok)."

It is reported that while wages have advanced during the last twenty years some 75 or 80 per cent, the staple articles upon which the natives depend for food have advanced on an average 309 per cent during the same time.

Mr. Walter B. Scaife in an article in the *Forum* for March on Labor Conditions in Switzerland refers to a systematic attempt made in 1895 to compile the wages of labor in Switzerland. The year covered by the statistics was 1893. Among the trades, divided into fifteen categories, and including more than 78,000 persons, the wages of 65,204 workers were ascertained. Of these 1,563 received 1 franc or less per day; 3,946 earned more than 5 francs a day, while only 41 were paid more than 10 francs per day. 31.8 per cent of the workers in cotton factories earned from 1.51 franc to 2 francs per diem. 85.5 per cent of the silk workers earned 3.50 francs or less per day. For woolen goods the condition was still less favorable, 32 per cent working for wages between 1.51 francs and 2 francs a day.

From a table of average wages for the first half of 1899 it is learned that builders receive as high as 55 centimes an hour; stone masons from 5 to 6 francs a day, and carpenters up to 50 centimes an hour.

Many of the Swiss workers live chiefly on bread and cheese, tasting meat but twice a week, replacing it on other days with vegetables or macaroni, and frequently satisfying their hunger with fried potatoes. The custom, however, of feeding the laborers in the factories is constantly gaining ground. One proprietor goes so far as to provide food five times a day, including two meals with meat dishes.

The cost of lodgings in Switzerland as elsewhere is not only out of proportion to the wages earned but also relatively far dearer than that of the higher-priced apartments. Moreover there is a lack of lodgings at prices within reach of the working classes. In Basle a law was

passed in 1900 covering rented houses and including the sleeping rooms of domestics, house laborers and apprentices. The law provides for the creation of a house commission and a corps of inspectors empowered to visit houses without previous notice. This law included, however, so many innovations and involved restrictions on the privacy of the home to such an extent that the referendum was demanded and the measure was defeated.

Mr. Scaife's article concludes with a brief account of the rejection through the referendum of the compulsory insurance law of 1899. Since February 1, 1899, in the canton of Neuchâtel under which five local mutual insurance companies have turned over their policies and funds to the government institution, 7,971 life insurance policies, aggregating 6,722,757 francs, were in force on December 31, 1899, under this system.

Charity Organization in Small Cities.—At the National Conference of Charities and Correction, held in Cincinnati in 1899, there were frequent inquiries, as there usually are at the National Conference, concerning the adaptation of organized charity to small communities. In the interval since that meeting the secretary of the Associated Charities of Dayton, Ohio, has collected information concerning the actual conditions in eighty-three cities of Ohio of a total of ninety from which information was sought. In January, 1900, the average population of these cities was 10,200. The results obtained were submitted to the Tenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction at Dayton in October, 1900.

Fifty-seven correspondents gave the name of some society in their respective towns that claimed to look after the poor in their homes to a greater or less degree. Twelve reported that they had no such society, and an equal number did not answer this question. The principal "recognized private charitable organizations" in fifty-two cities were as follows: Women's Relief Corps, fourteen cities; King's Daughters, four; various relief and benevolent societies apparently not affiliated with any religious organization, twelve; Needlework Guild, two; Associated Charities, so-called, twelve; Dorcas Society, three; Humane Society, two; Women's Christian Temperance Union, one; Young Women's Christian Temperance Union, one; City Mission, one.

Forty-one cities answered the questions concerning the scope of their work. The purpose of one is "to improve the condition of the poor;" thirty-three are for general relief; three for relief, but especially for children. One of the principal objects of a certain society is "consolidation of all relief societies." One is organized to make new garments for the poor; one looks after the interests of the sick

poor, while one says with some degree of ambiguity that "their society does what associated charities usually do."

It was discovered that men are the directors or principal officers in twelve of the twenty-eight societies which were organized for the definite purpose of caring for the poor of the community. Twelve have only women on their official boards, while the remaining four have men for treasurers or other positions not directly connected with the management. The twenty remaining societies from which information was obtained regarding their list of officers are in charge of women, but in none of these societies apparently was the general relief of the poor the primary purpose of the organization.

Mr. Edward A. Fay's paper was supplemented by another from Mr. W. S. Eagleson, superintendent of the Associated Charities of Columbus on the Need of a State Committee on Organization of Associated Charities. This committee after discussion was duly appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Fay. The duty of the committee is described as follows: To create a desire for improved conditions in charitable work; to meet this desire by furnishing literature and information; to advise with existing organizations in various cities and to infuse into them the proper spirit; and to act as a bureau of information upon questions which may perplex those who are new in the work of organized charity.

National Conference of Charities and Correction.—The National Conference of Charities and Correction will hold its twenty-eighth annual session in Washington, D. C., beginning on the evening of Thursday, May 9, and continuing until the evening of Wednesday, May 15. There is every indication that the conference will be an exceptionally interesting one, and that the attendance will be unusually large. An exceptional opportunity is afforded the conference by reason of its meeting at the National Capital.

The conference sermon will be preached by the Rev. George Hodges, D. D., dean of the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass. His subject will be "The Progress of Compassion."

A special feature of the conference will be the preaching of a number of sermons in Washington churches on the conference Sunday, by eminent preachers from all parts of the country on "The Application of Religion to the Social Problem," with special reference to the alleviation and care of social evils and their victims. Mr. Amos W. Butler, secretary of the Board of State Charities of Indiana, chairman of the Committee on Destitute and Neglected Children, will present the report of the committee. He will be followed by Professor Charles R. Henderson, D. D., of the University of Chicago, in an address on "The Neglected Child of a Neglected Country." This

committee will also hold three section meetings, at one of which "Boards of Childrens' Guardians" will be discussed by Mr. Alexander Johnson, superintendent of the Indiana School for Feeble-Minded Youth, and by representatives of the boards of guardians of District of Columbia, New Jersey and Indiana.

"Child Saving Work under State Supervision and Child Saving Work without State Supervision," will be discussed by Mr. Joseph P. Byers, secretary of the Board of State Charities of Ohio. The committee will hold a joint session with the committee on Juvenile Reformatories and Industrial Schools, at which the George Junior Republic will be discussed by Mr. Thomas M. Osborne, president of the board of managers of the Republic; Mr. Theodore F. Chapin, superintendent of the Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Mass.; Mr. Charles H. Bradley, superintendent of the Farm School, Thompson's Island, Boston, and Mrs. Julia E. Work, superintendent of the Work Orphans' Home, Plymouth, Ind.

At the general session of the committee on Juvenile Reformatories and Industrial Schools, Mr. Edwin P. Wentworth, superintendent of the State Reform School of Maine, will submit the report of the committee on the "Origin and Development of the Juvenile Reformatory." He will be followed by Mr. William G. Fairbank, superintendent of Connecticut Industrial School for Girls, in a paper on "Girls' Reformatories and Their Inherent Characteristics."

Besides the joint session with the committee on Destitute and Neglected Children already mentioned, there will be a meeting for women superintendents only, in charge of Mrs. L. U. de Bolt, superintendent of the Missouri Industrial Home for Girls, and Mrs. Elizabeth Clohan, superintendent of the West Virginia Industrial School for Girls. Simultaneously a meeting for men superintendents only, in charge of Mr. Lyman D. Drake, superintendent of the Missouri State Reform School, will be held.

Mr. Franklin H. Nibecker, superintendent of the House of Refuge, Glen Mills, Pa., will present a paper on "Some Inquiries Concerning the Mental Capacity of Juvenile Delinquents." The discussion on this paper will be opened by Mrs. Lucy N. Sickles, superintendent of the Michigan Industrial Home for Girls.

"Alcohol as a Cause for Degeneracy" will be presented by Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh, superintendent of the Illinois Home for Juvenile Female Offenders. The discussion at this meeting will be opened by Mrs. Elizabeth Clohan.

"Expansion as Applied to Juvenile Reformatories" will be presented by Mr. C. D. Hilles, superintendent of the Boys' Industrial School, Lancaster, Ohio.

A paper will be read by Mr. Ira Otterson, superintendent of the New Jersey Reform School, and will be discussed by the section.

Miss Zilpha D. Smith, general secretary of the Associated Charities of Boston, is chairman of the committee on "Needy Families in their Homes." The general session of the committee will be opened by the chairman, Mr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, president of Department of Charities and Correction of Baltimore, who will speak on "Present Opportunities for Training in Charitable Work." He will be followed by Mr. John Graham Brooks, of Cambridge, Mass., in a paper on "Some Problems of the Family."

This committee will have three section meetings. At one "Co-operation" will be spoken of by Miss Mary E. Richmond, general secretary of the Society for Organizing Charity of Philadelphia. At another, Dr. Lee K. Frankel, superintendent of the United Hebrew Charities of New York, will speak on "Unusual Forms of Relief." The third session will be devoted to "Friendly Visiting." A number of friendly visitors, each representing a different society, will tell of personal experiences in visiting among the poor.

The program of the general session of the committee on the "Insane" will include the report of the committee by George F. Keene, M. D., superintendent of Rhode Island Hospital for Insane, on "Public Policy in Treatment of the Insane during the Nineteenth Century," and there will be papers by A. B. Richardson, M. D., superintendent of the United States Hospital for Insane, Washington, D. C., on "What Should be the Legal Requirements for the Commitment of Insane Persons to Hospitals for the Treatment of their Disease," and by L. Pierce Clark, M. D., of Craig Colony, New York, on "Some Suggestions for Colonies and Psychopathic Hospitals for the Insane." There will probably also be a second meeting of this committee.

At the general session of the committee on Care of Feeble-Minded and Epileptics, W. L. Polglase, M. D., superintendent of the Michigan Home for Feeble-Minded and Epileptics, chairman of the committee, will report on the "Evolution of the Care of the Feeble-Minded and Epileptics during the Nineteenth Century." There will be papers by A. C. Rogers, M. D., superintendent of the Minnesota School for Feeble-Minded, on "Legal Restrictions on the Marriage of the Unfit," and by Margaret Bancroft, of the Training School for the Feeble-Minded, Haddonfield, N. J., on "Classification of the Mentally Deficient."

The report of the committee on Treatment of the Criminal will be presented by its chairman, Mr. Charlton T. Lewis, president of the

New York Prison Association. The subject of the report will be "How the State ought to Deal with Crime."

The report of the committee on Legislation Concerning Charities will be presented by Professor W. W. Folwell, of the University of Minnesota. Its subject will be "Consideration of Causes and of the Relative Value of National and State Legislation." The report will be discussed by Frederick H. Wines, LL. D., Mr. Edward T. Devine, general secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, and Professor Frank A. Fetter, of Cornell University.

Professor Frank A. Fetter, chairman of the committee on "Division of Work between Public and Private Charity," is engaged in a careful study of the laws and practice of different states with regard to the granting of public subsidies to private charities. His report will be submitted at the general session of the committee. He will be followed by one or two other experts on this subject. This committee will also have a section meeting on "The Respective Spheres of Public and Private Charity in Regard to Outdoor Relief."

The Columbian University has offered its buildings to the conference for its use.

The National Association for the Study of Epilepsy, of which William P. Letchworth, LL. D., is president, will hold its annual session in Washington on the afternoons of May 14 and 15.

Immediately after the adjournment of the conference the Association of Officers of American Institutions for Feeble-Minded will hold its annual session in Baltimore.

The Cuban Orphan Society.—The second report of the Cuban Orphan Society, written by the secretary, Miss Laura D. Gill, who is the new dean of Barnard College, presents an interesting account of the work accomplished by that society during the past year. The problem which the society encountered divides itself into three sections: First, the condition of the very poor half-orphans under six years of age; second, the condition of the same class of children between the ages of six and fourteen; third, the preparation of these children for self-support, and an intelligent response to the duties of maturity. For the class of children first mentioned, kindergartens are maintained in three provinces, which provide accommodations for about two hundred children. The state now provides instruction for the second group of children; though school attendance is compulsory, the law cannot be rigorously enforced because many of the parents are too poor to provide even the necessary clothing for their children. But little has yet been done to provide technical training for the third group, though a beginning has been made at Matanzas. A summariza-

tion of the work of the society shows that 777 persons are now receiving instruction through its efforts.

Care of the Insane.—The *Charities Review* calls attention to the uniformity of method and of origin in the revival movements for improved care of the insane in various states. Recently New Hampshire has been awakened to the conception that neglect of the insane is abuse, and that the insane in that commonwealth have been neglected. At the Third Conference of Charities, held in Concord, on March 13, the discussion of this subject engaged nearly its whole time, and became very animated. It was presented by addresses from an expert physician, a theologian, and a lawyer, but all agreed in the main to the chief fact stated above, and its remedy. The economic, the ethical and the medical phases of the question, as it is related to the present non-care of the insane in county almshouses, against enlightened care in state institutions, was well presented. They are, however, sufficiently true and well known to those acquainted with the history of state care in New York. The whole discussion was focused on state care for the insane, and it seems probable that New Hampshire will soon be added to the column of states which act on the principle that "if a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well." It seems probable that the present movement is an outgrowth of the inquiry which followed the burning of forty-five insane in the Strafford county almshouse a few years since.

Michigan, which is one of the banner states in its provision of charitable institutions for indigent defectives, is providing for a new state hospital for the insane.

Vacant Lot Cultivation in Philadelphia.—The fourth annual report of the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association records an interesting change in general policy, and also an interesting development of an allied method of providing employment. The latter is the raising of Belgian hares for their meat and fur. It is ascertained that from a trio of these hares it is possible to have in a year a family of between two and three hundred, each of which will weigh four or five pounds. The animals require little care and no food except the waste from the gardens, and a back yard provides all the space needed. The industry might not be suited to a city of tenement-houses, but where the wage-earner occupies an independent house, it would seem quite as practicable as vacant-lot farming.

The change of policy in the association, to which reference has been made, results from an improvement in industrial conditions since the time when potato-patch gardening was first inaugurated.

The report states that able-bodied men and women can now usually find work. But modern industry has little use for those who are not

able, strong and efficient. The opinion is justified, therefore, that there is need for work rather than almsgiving for a large number of aged persons, and those otherwise incapacitated for regular employment under modern conditions. The association has a permanent field of usefulness in bad and good times alike in administering to the needs of the aged, the weak and partially disabled, and its work should be especially adapted to their needs.

The Charities Chapter of the New Charter of the City of New York.—The New York Legislature has adopted the report of the Commission which has thoroughly revised the charter of Greater New York. Some changes have been made by committees of the two branches, but the provisions for a single-headed commission for the Department of Charities, for the establishment of a children's court, and for the creation of a new department of public hospitals, have been retained, together with the various minor changes affecting the Department of Charities, as reported by the Commission.

Women Wage-Earners in New York.—A committee appointed by the Alliance Employment Bureau of New York City has investigated seven different occupations for women wage-earners in that city. The results of the investigation are summed up as follows: First, the wages of unskilled labor are either stationary or sinking; second, there is plenty of room for skilled labor in dressmaking, stenography, and laundry work; third, the introduction of machinery has complex results, but, generally speaking, it reduces the wages paid to hand workers and temporarily raises the machine piece-work wages. The report of the committee expresses the conviction that the training of girls to become skilled wage-earners and the opening up of new occupations are the two practical means of advancing the interests of wage-earning women.

The Treatment of Consumptives.—The State of Texas has isolated her consumptive convicts. Wynne Farm, the site of this isolation hospital, is described as an ideal consumptive camp. On this farm no one is required to work beyond his strength, but all are required to go into the open air and sunshine when their strength admits of their leaving their beds. There are at present fifty-nine men in the camp, and they are reported to appear as the healthiest men among the convicts, although many of them were sent to the farm apparently in the last stages of consumption. If the principal object of imprisonment is reformation, this humane policy will be more likely to contribute to the desired end than that which has prevailed, for example, in Sing Sing Prison, where a sentence of prolonged imprisonment has come to be regarded as in effect a sentence to tuberculosis. The incident, however, is chiefly interesting as another indication of the

awakening interest in the possibility of stamping out the scourge of consumption.

In Illinois, on the other hand, an appreciable decrease in the death rate from tuberculosis has been brought about by isolation within the penitentiary.

Consumption has been placed on the list of contagious diseases by the Philadelphia Board of Health. Physicians must report to the health officer all cases and deaths. It is not the intention of the board to isolate victims of the disease; the work is to be purely educational. It will consist in offering advice in regard to precautionary methods. Medicines and disinfectants will be supplied to worthy poor patients.

The Board of Health of Boston, has lately adopted the ruling that tuberculosis is to be treated in the same manner as any contagious disease, and that patients suffering with tuberculosis may be removed from their homes by order of the Board of Health. A new building is about to be erected on Long Island in connection with the hospital there, which will be used chiefly for destitute persons suffering with this disease.

The Rocky Mountain Industrial Sanitarium has been incorporated in Colorado. It aims to be national in scope, and its purpose is to aid tuberculosis patients in poor or moderate circumstances who go to the mountain states in the hope that the climate will aid in effecting a cure, but who, either from lack of means or from lack of proper direction, are immediately placed under conditions which preclude improvement or recovery. The plan provides for the erection of a sanitarium about twenty miles from Denver, to be conducted as an industrial colony.

IV. COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Germany.—The Annual Report on German Colonies and Protectorates, which has just appeared, indicates a total native population in these districts, exclusive of Kiaouchou, of about 10,700,000 with Europeans to the number of about 8,000. From the returns on the economic conditions of the colonies, it is apparent that in spite of the extensive construction of railways, bridges, roads, etc., which has been planned or is in course of execution, the colonies are only in the earliest stage of development. With that thoroughness which is characteristic of the German, the Imperial Government has established experimental agricultural stations in every colony. The natural produce of the country is studied with a view to its thorough commercial development. Fruits, nuts, fibrous plants, etc., from other parts of the world are also being introduced, and special efforts are made to establish and develop rubber, coffee and tobacco plantations. The German enterprises in Africa are subject to all the peculiar advantages and disadvantages of the German governmental system. The *Beamtentum*, with its self-sacrificing and well-disciplined, yet arbitrary and semi-military characteristics, has been established throughout the colonies. If conscientious, pains-taking effort can create a colonial system worth having, the Germans are in a fair way to succeed and, in the future, when the competition of nations shall be turned more directly toward the Continent of Africa, Germany will doubtless be found to have laid the foundations of a great colonial empire. At the present time, however, the German colonies are almost devoid of German population. Emigration from the Fatherland is flowing in more attractive channels, where it seems only to strengthen other nations than Germany. The German settlements in Asia-Minor, Mexico and South America are rapidly forming the basis of what might well become an important colonial system were it possible for the German political power to be extended over these territories. One cannot learn of the pains-taking efforts expended in Africa without wishing that a more favorable field might be opened to a people so admirably equipped for colonization.

Philippines.—The Division of Insular Affairs of the War Department has recently compiled the most important information dealing with the peoples of the Philippines. The material is taken from various sources and is highly interesting. The islands seem to have been subject to successive waves of immigration from the mainland, each wave leaving a different racial stratum, according to the origin of the immigrants. Over all the islands may be found what is sup-

posed to be the aboriginal race, or Negritos. They represent a very low type of development. The most highly developed of the native races are the Tagals and Visayans, both of which have been "domesticated" or semi-civilized under Spanish influence. The Chinese form a very important element in the foreign population. Their economic instincts are most acute, and they have accordingly amassed immense wealth in a country where the natives live from hand to mouth. As a consequence of this prosperity the Chinese have always been unpopular and numerous wholesale massacres of the Chinese are reported.

A curious element in the native population is the race known as the Moros, who are supposed to have descended from the Mussulmen of Borneo. From that island they brought their religion and customs, notably slavery and polygamy. They have for centuries controlled the Zulu Islands and large portions of the Island of Mindanao. Numerous attempts had been made by the Spanish to subdue the Moros and to convert them to Christianity, but without success. The number of Europeans in the Philippines is comparatively small. The Spaniards have never settled in the islands to any great extent. Up to the time of the American occupation there were a few English and Germans.

The imports into the islands for the eight months ending August, 1900, were \$14,580,457, as compared with \$12,270,163 for a similar period in 1899; exports for the eight months ending August, 1900, \$15,928,015, as compared with \$10,391,286 for a similar period in 1899. Of the imports \$1,340,717 came from the United States; of the exports, \$1,954,531 went to the United States. England still has the largest trade of any individual country with the Philippines, the totals amounting to more than double the figures for the United States, both in imports and exports.

Cuba.—The Constitutional Convention has avoided any final decision in the acceptance or rejection of the Platt Amendment. A commission of five members, appointed to confer with the President of the United States in reference to the relations of the two countries, has visited Washington and conferred with the Administration, as well as the committeemen of both houses of Congress. The radical element in the convention is still in control, but is beginning to split up into factions.

The commerce of Cuba still shows a healthy increase in volume. Owing to a misunderstanding, by certain press correspondents, of the information communicated by the Division of Insular Affairs of the War Department, the impression is spread abroad that Cuban commerce is declining. This is only true of the imports and exports of

gold and silver, not of merchandise. Following is a statement of the figures for merchandise furnished by the division for the first nine months of 1899 and 1900, respectively:

IMPORTS FROM ALL COUNTRIES.

1899	\$46,833,122
1900	49,701,998

An increase of six per cent in favor of 1900.

EXPORTS TO ALL COUNTRIES.

1899	\$38,672,146
1900	38,020,038

The principal item of decrease in the export column occurs in the trade with Spain:

EXPORTS TO SPAIN.

For nine months ending September, 1899 . .	\$2,788,078
For nine months ending September, 1900 . .	770,456

The Cuban trade with the United States seems to be slowly increasing. Eliminating the coin shipments the imports from the United States to Cuba have gained \$298,611 for the first nine months of 1900 over a similar period in 1899. The exports from Cuba to the United States have decreased \$6,835,750. This is to be accounted for by the fact that a greater part of tobacco shipped by Europe is sent via New York. In the returns of 1899 no distinction was made with reference to the destination of the commodity; whereas in the returns of 1900 a large portion of this amount has been set down to European account.

The Canadian-American syndicate, recently formed for the purpose of developing the transportation facilities of Cuba, has secured nearly all the property and rights necessary for a road running the entire length of the island. Owing to the so-called Foraker law, which prohibited the granting of franchises in Cuba by the American government, it has been necessary for the company to purchase outright several long strips of territory.

Ship Subsidies for Colonial Routes.—Since the first of the year two interesting experiments have been made by England and Germany respectively in the furtherance of their colonial interests. Germany has subsidized an important line of steamships plying between Hamburg and her African possessions. The subsidy will enable ships to leave Hamburg every two weeks, one vessel passing through the Mediterranean and around Africa, the other passing down the west coast of Africa and up through the Red Sea, returning by the Mediterranean. The steamers are to be built in Germany, and German trade is to have preference over that of foreign countries in

making up the cargoes. Employees and agents of the company are to be German subjects. It is expected that by giving a more frequent service, and perhaps lower freights, the conditions of trade with the African colonies will be rendered more favorable.

The new English subsidy is intended to alleviate the depressed economic conditions of the West Indies, particularly of Jamaica. Owing to the increasing competition of beet sugar with the West Indian cane sugar, the British West Indies have been steadily sinking in importance. Political discontent has also developed, and in 1899 an acute crisis arose in the Jamaican Legislative Council, the elected members refusing to vote the budget on account of the poverty of the country. The home authorities, understanding that the political troubles are of economic origin, have determined to extend the market for Jamaican and West Indian fruits. It is thought that the new ship-subsidy will enable West Indian planters to dispose of their products in the English market. A contract has therefore been made with a prominent shipping firm for regular sailings between Bristol and West Indian ports, the expense of the subsidy to be borne partly by the imperial and partly by the colonial governments.

V. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

World's Demand for Timber and Supply.¹—The imports of timber by the principal nations were as follows: During the last five years the average importation by Great Britain was 84,720,000 cubic feet of timber—99 per cent of its total consumption. Germany, in 1898, imported, net, 317,700,000 cubic feet, or 24 per cent of its total consumption; France, during the last five years, has imported, net, 105,900,000 cubic feet, or 33 per cent of the total consumption; Belgium, 63,540,000 cubic feet, or 47 per cent of its total consumption; Switzerland, 49,420,000 cubic feet, or 35 per cent of its total consumption. A population of 215,000,000 in middle, western and southern Europe imports from 12.3 to 14.1 billion cubic feet of timber, produced on 25 to 50 million acres of forest land. The exporting countries contribute to this supply as follows: Austria-Hungary, 249,040,000 cubic feet; Norway, 120,020,000 cubic feet; Sweden, 352,300,000 cubic feet; Russia, 416,540,000 cubic feet; United States, 116,490,000 cubic feet; Canada, 162,380,000 cubic feet. The price of timber is rapidly rising, and the supply fails to increase owing to widespread deforestation in new countries. Within fifty years there is likely to be a timber famine. There is little possibility of supplying the demand from tropical countries for two reasons: (1) the unsuitability of the tropical woods to serve as substitutes for conifers and hard woods; (2) the rapidity of decay. A thoroughgoing and widespread reforestation is the only remedy.

Competition with the United States Steel Corporation.—The formation of the United States Steel Corporation has caused some question as to the extent to which the new company would be able to monopolize the iron and steel trade. The following list of large independent companies in the territory covered by the United States Steel Corporation is instructive. The list is taken from the *Iron Age*, of February 14, 1901. It indicates the general nature of the independent enterprises, and shows also the extent to which each controls the production of its raw materials:

PLANTS IN CENTRAL WEST.

1. Jones & Laughlin, limited, Pittsburg. Practically self-contained. Produce steel billets, bars, structural material, light rails and specialties.

¹ Condensation of paper read before International Congress of Sylviculture at the Paris Exposition, on deficiency of wood production in the world. Raphael Zon, in "The Forester," March 15, 1901.

2. Republic Iron and Steel Company. Consolidation of bar mills; largely self-contained; owning some or producing some pig iron and making steel billets.
3. Otis Steel Company, Cleveland, Ohio. Steel plates; make their own steel.
4. Cambria Steel Company, Johnstown, Pa. Largely self-contained. Makers of steel rails, structural materials, bars and specialties.
5. Carbon Steel Company, Pittsburg. Makers of open-hearth steel and steel plates.
6. Wheeling Iron and Steel Company. Producers of pig iron and steel and different lines of finished products.
7. Oliver Iron and Steel Company, Cleveland. Bars and specialties.
8. Ashland Steel Company, Ashland, Ky. Have no ore; produce pig iron, steel, wire rods and wire products.
9. Sharon Steel Company, Sharon, Pa. Largely self-contained. New plant. Will produce pig iron, open-hearth steel, tin plate, sheets and hoops.
10. Crane Company, Chicago. Large manufacturers of pipe.
11. National Enameling and Stamping Company, Granite City, Illinois. Open-hearth plant; manufacture their own steel.

PLANTS IN EAST.

1. Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company, Scranton, Pa. Largely self-contained; manufacturers of steel rails and billets; are building a large steel and rail plant at Buffalo, N. Y., which will have a surplus of steel, and may be the nucleus of a series of independent enterprises.
2. Pennsylvania Steel Company, Steelton, Pa. Maryland Steel Company, Sparrow's Point, Md. Control ore mines in Cuba. No coke as yet. Produce necessary pig iron and steel; make rails, structural material and track material, furnish raw material to Central Iron and Steel Company, Harrisburg, Pa. Large producers of steel plates.
3. Bethlehem Steel Company, South Bethlehem, Pa. Steel makers, sellers of special billets, makers of armor, guns and high class-forgings.
4. Lukens Iron and Steel Company, Coatesville, Pa. Large producers of open-hearth steel and of steel plates.
5. Phoenix Iron Company, Phoenixville, Pa. Produce open-hearth steel, roll beams and shapes, and build bridges and buildings.

6. Reading Iron Company, Reading, Pa. Do not yet produce steel, large manufacturers of pipe.

7. Passaic Rolling Mill Company, Paterson, N. J. Manufacturers of steel for own purposes. Roll shapes and build bridges and buildings.

8. Tidewater Steel Company, Chester, Pa. Produce pig iron and steel.

9. Diamond State Steel Company, Wilmington, Del. Manufacturers of open-hearth steel, sellers of billets, manufacturers of bars, track material and plates.

10. American Iron and Steel Manufacturing Company, Lebanon, Pa. Produce no steel. Puddle iron, roll bars, make track material, bolts, nuts and rivets.

The *Iron Age* states that one-half the iron ore tonnage of the Lake Superior ranges is in the hands of the United States Steel Corporation, and that its present capacity for pig-iron production is about 6,200,000 tons, the total output of the United States. The new company, it should be added, controls between forty and fifty thousand acres of coal in the Connellsville region, which gives it a practical monopoly of this fuel. Improved processes, however, are rapidly increasing the output of coke from inferior coal, and this will tend to break down the monopoly which the Connellsville region has for so long enjoyed.

Recent Events in the Railway World.¹—Under the stimulus of the numerous extensive consolidations noted in these pages in March, the development of community of ownership in railway management has gone on apace during the few months just past, approaching steadily that control of all the large lines in a few hands which has been pointed out as the logical outcome of prevailing tendencies. Complaint has already been made by the heavy western shippers of freight that as one of the results of the division of railroad transportation into groups, each controlled by one banking house, it is now useless to make the rounds of the various railroad offices seeking concessions on shipments. Some railroad authorities think the increased revenue by reason of the abolition of rate-cutting, and because of a few small advances in tariffs, will amount to \$50,000,000 a year.

Foreshadowed in statements made shortly after Collis P. Huntington died, that his death would lead to rearrangements of the Pacific Coast railroad system of the most far-reaching kind, came the announcement in the first days of February that the Southern Pacific, with its 7,545 miles of road, had been bought by the Union Pacific. This may well be called the biggest thing of its kind in the railroad history of

¹ Contributed by Ferdinand H. Graser.

the country. In the combined system there are 15,000 miles of railroad, two Pacific Ocean lines, and one Atlantic Coast line, running from New York and New Orleans to Galveston. The original trans-continental road, from Omaha to Ogden and thence to San Francisco, becomes after thirty-two years from construction one single line, instead of the original two, Union Pacific and Central Pacific. The "community of ownership" between Union and Southern Pacific will do its work in the line of securing stability of rates, avoiding duplication of service, and opening the way to such economies in operation as experience may show to be feasible. The Harriman syndicate—the same controlling the Union and Southern Pacific—has also come into possession of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway.

As a natural effect of this combination, arrangements are under consideration for a union in management of all the roads in the southwest controlled by George J. Gould. Such a union would embrace the Missouri Pacific, St. Louis & Iron Mountain, St. Louis Southwestern, Texas & Pacific, International & Great Northern, Wabash, Missouri, Texas & Pacific, Denver & Rio Grande, Rio Grande Western and Rio Grande Southern, Colorado Southern and Colorado Midland. If this is effected the whole will be placed under the direction of the Missouri Pacific. It has even been said that the Illinois Central, Chicago & Alton, Chicago & Southern Illinois, St. Louis & San Francisco, as well as the Kansas City Southern, will enter the great combination. The sum of \$300,000,000 would not be too high a capitalization for such an enterprise, stretching from the Gulf to the Northwest.

Those interested in the St. Louis & San Francisco have already purchased control of the Kansas City & Fort Scott, and the Kansas City, Memphis & Birmingham system, completing a line 3,002 miles long, of which the Memphis contributes 1,250 miles. The Memphis extends from Kansas City to Birmingham, Ala., with branch lines in Kansas and Missouri. The 'Frisco has lines from St. Louis and Kansas City and Ellsworth (Kans.) into Arkansas, Oklahoma, Indian Territory and Texas.

On January 30 the Southern Railway Company secured control of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad Company, thus gaining a short line from St. Louis and Cairo to the Gulf. The valuable terminals of the Mobile and Ohio, at Mobile, used in connection with those of the Southern, will enable the latter to develop traffic through that port to an extent which would not be practicable to either of the two lines operated separately; and the previous acquisition by the Southern of large and valuable terminals at East St. Louis will enable the Mobile & Ohio to develop business at and from the St. Louis gateway to an extent and in a

manner that would have been impossible with the terminals heretofore available. The Southern Railway now controls over 8,760 miles of lines, making it fifth in respect of mileage of the great railways of the world. It is now surpassed in this respect only by the New York Central, Pennsylvania, Canadian Pacific, and Southern Pacific.

Another ocean to ocean scheme is reported to be taking form. It involves two Chicago lines—the Grand Trunk and the Wisconsin Central—and provides for the Grand Trunk's assumption and control of the Wisconsin Central. This is the route in mind: Portland, Me., to Chicago, Grand Trunk; Chicago to Ashland, Wis., Wisconsin Central; Ashland to Duluth, Northern Pacific, or a new line; Duluth to Winnepeg, line to be projected.

The syndicate which controls the Toledo, St. Louis & Western Railway (the "Clover Leaf" road) and the Ohio Southern Railroad Company, is said to have secured an option on the Lima Northern, in order to provide a short line from Detroit to St. Louis by which the Canadian Pacific could reach St. Louis and be provided with admirable connections for the far West and Pacific Coast points, and by which Detroit could get its first direct connection with the bituminous fields of Ohio.

While official denial has been given to a report that the Chesapeake & Ohio will become an integral part of the Pennsylvania system by a lease of 999 years, the rumor has gained many believers on the exchanges. It is said further that within two years the Pennsylvania will be operating a new trunk line to the South, and running solid trains from Buffalo to Florida. It is stated that the idea is to establish a route to the South via Pittsburg, which will be 300 miles shorter than any other. The arrangement is understood to contemplate the running of through trains from Buffalo and Cleveland to Richmond and Norfolk, thus saving 340 miles from the long routes via Washington and Cincinnati.

Working to the establishment of a direct trunk line through Pittsburg as the main line to Chicago, the Baltimore & Ohio will build a cut-off from Smith's Ferry, Pa., to Canton, Ohio, sixty miles. This line will reduce the distance to Chicago twenty-eight miles, will avoid the heavy grades, and will triple the hauling capacity of trains.

Failing in their efforts to gain the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, the syndicate controlling the Northern Pacific and Great Northern has arranged a consolidation of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy to its other interests.

Foreign Loans in the American Money Market.—The following table presents the foreign securities held by the New York Life Insurance Company at the beginning of the past year:

NAME OF SECURITY.	PAR VALUE.
Austria, 4 per cent	\$2,459,142 00
Brazilian gold, 1867	50,000 00
Bulgarian Fr. Rentes, 1893, 3½ per cent	18,335 00
Bremen, Germany, 3½ per cent	119,000 00
Cuba, loan of 1890, 5 per cent	28,950 00
Havana Treas., Cuba, 6 per cent	25,298 73
Hungarian gold, 4 per cent, 1887	100,250 00
Italian, 4½ per cent, 4½ per cent, 5 per cent	1,115,420 34
Lucerne, Switzerland, 4 per cent	77,220 60
Russian State No. Agrarian Bank, 4 per cent	2,778,450 00
Russian Consolidated Int. Railway, 4½ per cent	40,700 99
Russian Nicholas Railway, 4 per cent	95,200 00
Rus. Mos. Jar & H. Railway, 4 per cent	215,394 00
Rus. Mos. Kazan Railway, 4 per cent	154,800 00
Rus. Riasan-Oural Railway, 4 per cent	346,052 00
Rus. Chi. East. Railway, 4 per cent	43,250 00
Russian State rentes, 4 per cent	327,800 00
Russian-Moscow-Riasan, 4 per cent	12,495 00
Russian Moscow, Windau & Rybinsk, 4 per cent	688,891 00
Russian Rybinsk Railway, 4 per cent	29,036 00
Russian Southeastern Railway, 4 per cent	46,291 00
Servia State loan, 4 per cent	7,816 00
Swiss loans of 1883, 3¾ per cent; 1889, 3¾ per cent; 1897, 3 per cent	20,265 00
Swedish State, 3½ per cent	95,200 00
U. S. of Mex. Ext. Con. g., 5 per cent	485,000 00
U. S. of Mex. Int. Dbt. Con., 5 per cent	28,571 43
Urey, Switzerland, 4 per cent, 1904	159,225 00
Wurtemberg State, 3½ per cent	45,220 00
Total	\$9,613,274 00

Most of these investments are explained by the fact that the American life insurance companies are doing business in other parts of the world, but no matter for what reason they have been acquired, the fact remains that they are large creditors of foreign governments and foreign railways. The United States is rapidly improving her position as a factor in the world's money markets.¹

Chicago Building Trades' Dispute.²—February 6, 1901, witnessed the collapse of the Chicago building trades' organization which had for two years controlled the labor situation in the building trades. This result was due to the efforts of the contractors' organization, formed to resist the encroachments of the unions. The situation which led up to this conflict between the two organizations illustrates

¹ Figures taken from *United States Investor*.

² Condensed from *The Metal Worker*.

the possibilities for evil of militant trades-unionism, and has given the United States a concrete illustration of the handicap under which our English competitors have labored. The Building Trades' Council included in its organization practically the entire membership of the various labor organizations in the building trades. It began by making some moderate demands upon certain contractors and enforcing these by the method of sympathetic strikes. The uniform success of these early movements encouraged the leaders of the building trades' council to more radical action. The conservative element was forced to the rear and the organization was launched upon a career of the most obstreperous tyranny.

The first sign of the new spirit was a general lightening of the restrictions upon membership in the various unions. Many of the unions made the membership fee so large as to amount to practical prohibition and some even went so far as to specifically prohibit for a term of years any increase in their membership. The next step in the program of "making work" was to prohibit the use of machinery to cut-stone contractors. At one time machinery to the value of \$110,000 was lying idle in their yards. The Building Trades' Council next went for the man who was doing too much work. The plumber was restricted to so many fixtures in a day, the gas-fitter to so many feet of pipe, the lather to so many bundles of lath and the bricklayer to so many bricks, in each case the maximum being far below an average man's capacity. In one case, during the construction of the Merchants' Loan Building, a boss plumber, working according to union rules, did in eight hours' continuous labor four days' work. In the enforcement of these restrictions the council employed very freely the weapon of the sympathetic strike, until contractors were entirely uncertain as to the time within which they would be able to finish a building once undertaken. The construction of the Montgomery Ward building was interrupted by twenty sympathetic strikes. Some of the causes of these strikes were as follows: Because a mason spread his mortar with a shovel instead of a trowel; because the soft-stone cutter did hard-stone cutters' work; because the carpenter did the iron man's work; because a carpenter sharpened his tools in his own time instead of the boss's; because a boiler was made in a non-union shop; because the boss hurried his men along; because an employer discharged an incompetent man; because an employer would not pay railroad fare out of town; because an employer was late on pay-day. The result of this "make-work" policy on the part of the unions was that in 1899 the total value of the buildings constructed in Chicago was \$20,000,000, although the amount normally demanded was \$50,000,000. The contractors were afraid to undertake a piece of work,

being in complete uncertainty as to the date of its completion. When the situation had become intolerable, the contractors formed an organization to resist. They imported large numbers of non-union men, and, in spite of the passivity of the police, gave them protection. The council held out for a year, during which time its membership declined from 40,000 to 4,000, but finally yielded on February 6, 1901, and permitted its men to work under the rules adopted by the contractors' organization, which were as follows:

1. There shall be no limitation to the amount of work a man can perform during his working day.
2. There shall be no limitations placed upon the use of machinery or tools.
3. There shall be no restriction of the use of any manufactured material.
4. No person shall have the right to interfere with any workman during working hours.
5. The use of apprentices shall not be prohibited.
6. The foreman shall be the agent of the employer.
7. All workmen shall be at liberty to work for whom they see fit.
8. All employers shall be at liberty to employ and discharge whom they see fit.

The necessity for rules such as these, most of which are plainly dictated by simple common sense, shows the extent of the evil from which the Chicago building trades have suffered and gives a new warning against the dangers of militant trades-unionism.



INDEX OF NAMES.

ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used: *pap.*, principal paper by the person named; *ed.*, editorial by the person named; *com.*, communication, by the person named; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author; *n.*, note by person named; *r.*, review by the person named; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named.

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